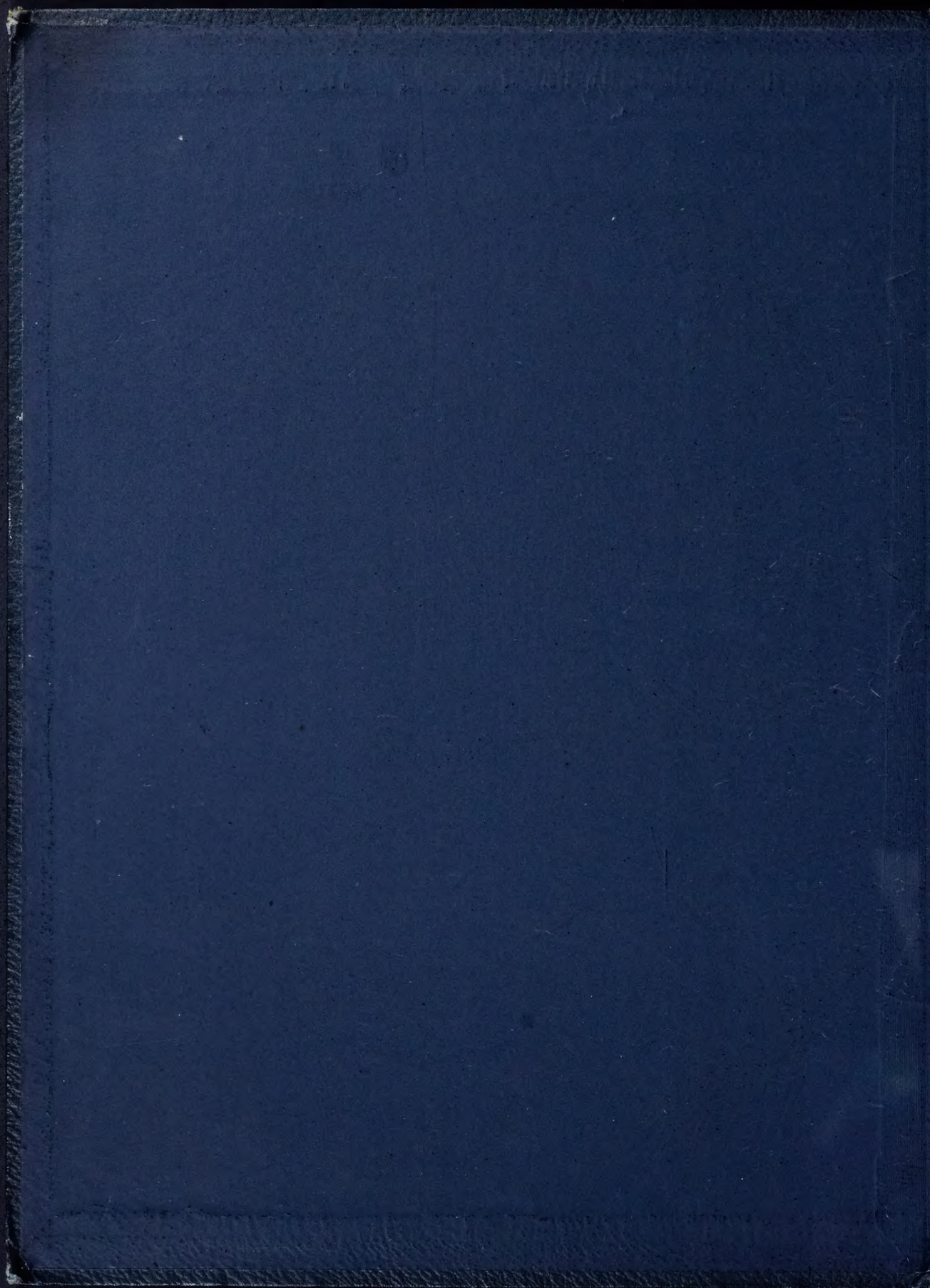
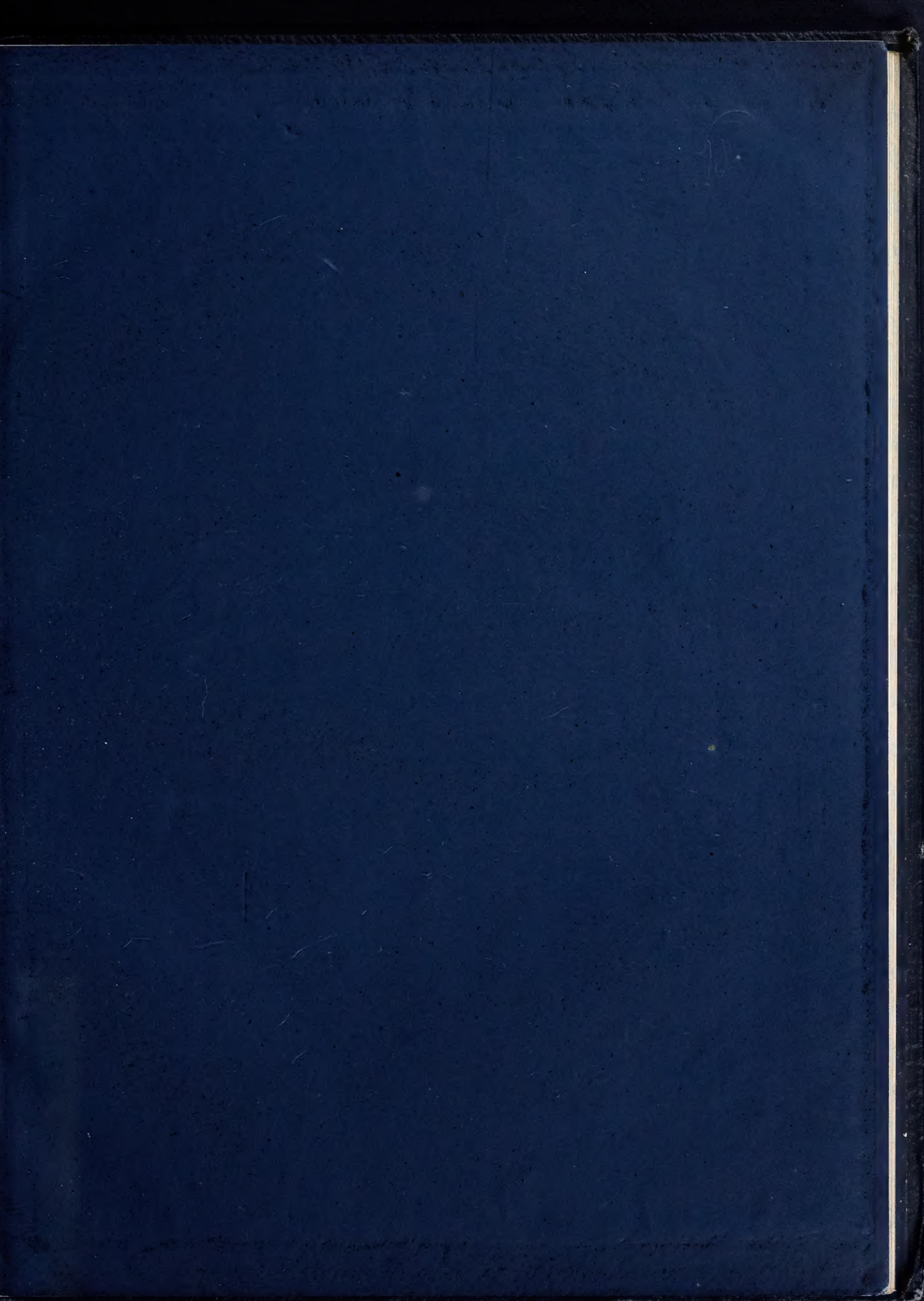


the Ruined ABBEYS



of BRITAIN





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RUINED ABBEYS OF BRITAIN.







TINTERN ABBEY.



THE
RUINED ABBEYS
OF
BRITAIN.

BY
FREDERICK ROSS, F.R.H.S.

ILLUSTRATED WITH COLOURED PLATES AND WOOD ENGRAVINGS
FROM DRAWINGS BY A. E. LYDON.

LONDON:
WILLIAM MACKENZIE, 69, LUDGATE HILL.
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Preface.



WHEN an American visits his ancestral fatherland of England, his supreme desire is to look upon the cathedrals, the ancient castles, and the mutilated remains of the old abbeys, which lie scattered about so profusely over the length and breadth of our island. He has no abbey ruins in his own land, and, with a feeling of filial respect and veneration, longs to gaze upon those of England, which are the creation equally of his and our forefathers. Nor is this a sentiment peculiar to the Anglo-Saxon of the Transatlantic shore: it is shared by the denizens of every clime, where the descendants of the old castle and abbey builders are laying the foundations of new Anglian empires, with mighty futures before them, whose laws will be written in the same speech that was used by those builders of the past. At home, we who live in their midst are proud of them, and are now, after centuries of neglect, doing our best, with tender care, to preserve and protect them from further decay. At the same time, every cultivated mind of other lands and peoples shares in our admiration of the architectural glories of the past, and long pilgrimages are made by them from far-distant countries, to worship at the shrines of Glastonbury, Fountains, Netley, Whitby, St. Osyth, Byland, Malmesbury, Rievaulx, Jedburgh, and Melrose. We are apt to speak of the monastic period, from the fourth to the fifteenth century, as an age of darkness, and in some respects it was so; yet it was during these centuries that the beautiful and symbolic style of architecture—the Gothic—was developed, when our glorious abbeys and noble cathedrals were created and moulded into forms which put to shame the efforts of modern builders. It was an outgrowth of the rounded arch and the stunted pillars of the Saxon era; rapidly advanced in symmetrical proportion, graceful curves, and efflorescence of ornamentation, until it reached its zenith in the fourteenth century, after which it gradually degenerated down to the period of the Reformation, which, by its iconoclasm and ruthless destruction of monasteries and churches, extinguished the art. In an æsthetic point of view, the Reformation was an enormous loss, and this loss was carried out to a much greater extent in the Puritan Revolution of the following century, when men with pious but mistaken zeal, believing that every artistic conception, and everything noble, grand, and beautiful about a church savoured of Popery, tore down wall, tower, and pinnacle, destroyed pulpit and altar, hacked and hewed

down statuary and tabernacle work, broke into fragments shrines and tombs, shivered into a thousand pieces the pictured stained-glass windows, melted the lead of the roofs to make into bullets, and stabled their horses on the tessellated pavement of the choirs. Then followed an age of apathy, when the abbey and church ruins were allowed to crumble beneath the tooth of time,—a truly dark age of architecture, which attained its greatest density under the four Georges; but in the meanwhile nature had stepped in, and by mantling the ruins with ivy, not only hid from view the wounds inflicted by the hand of man, and those caused by time and neglect, but added a new and picturesque feature, which, by contrasting its green foliage with the grey old walls, gives a charming aspect to many of these venerable relics. It was not until the present century had dawned that we began to perceive the supreme beauty of Gothic architecture, and to recognize the wealth of noble design and beautiful sculptured detail which lay around us in the fragments of our abbeys; but now we have happily learnt to appreciate them at their due worth, and for some time past have employed ourselves in taking measures for protecting and preserving them as far as possible from further spoliation and decay.

The object of the present publication is to supply a want—that of a pictorial history of the chief ruined abbeys of Britain. There are many valuable histories of individual or local groupings of abbeys; many detailed accounts in country histories; and numberless guide-books, more or less complete, but generally very meagre in detail. There are also a few works of a more comprehensive character, which profess to give accounts of all the principal ruins, but these are mainly mere epitomes, and often without views or plans. There appeared, therefore, to be an opening for a general history, giving a full historical and descriptive account of the ruins, with ample illustrations, which should be at once a book for the library and for the drawing-room table,—a book for the student and for the superficial reader. Such a work is contemplated in these pages; the materials are gathered from the most authentic sources, and have been arranged in consecutive order, with a view of avoiding, on the one hand the dry matter-of-fact style of the antiquary, on the other the verbose style which ignores facts and details, and indulges rather in poetical imaginings than in accuracy.

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The Ruined Abbeys of Britain.



FIG. 1. T. T. T. T.

The Cistercian Abbey of Tintern.



FOR picturesque beauty the Valley of the Wye scarcely has its equal in England; indeed a German Prince tourist asserts that it is not surpassed in Europe. The river issues from two springs on the south-east of Plinlimmon, and takes a meandering course in a south-easterly direction, receiving several affluents as it passes along, and in its lower course dividing the counties of Monmouth and Gloucester, until, at a distance of one hundred and thirty miles from its source, it falls into the estuary of the Severn at Chepstow.

The scenery along its banks is so varied and exquisitely beautiful as to excite the admiration of beholders, even the least impressionable to the charms of nature. Nor is this loveliness broken at intervals by more prosaic scenery, nor confined to a limited space, but is continuous for a hundred miles or more. A writer in *The Land We Live In* says:—"By universal consent the Wye is the most beautiful of English rivers. Others there are fully equal to it in parts, but their beauties are confined to a short space, while the Wye

is beautiful for its whole extent. The Wharfe, above Bolton Abbey; the Dove along its famous Dale; the Greta, near its junction with the Tees; and several other of our British streams, may, in some rich spots, well challenge comparison with the very loveliest part of the Wye; but the longest of their finer scenes extends only a few miles—the Wye is lovely for a hundred.”

All along its course the river is bordered by rocky heights and stupendous cliffs, at times retreating from the river and leaving an expanse of sylvan lowland, at others narrowing the valley almost to a gorge, the rocks rising up on each side, with assimilating crags, fissures, and clefts, as if they had been riven asunder by some tremendous convulsion of nature. Interspersed with these are valleys, luxuriant in vegetable growth, running inland like bays and estuaries on the sea coast, backed by distant hills, the slopes adorned with groupings of trees waving their many-tinted foliage; waterfalls glistening in the sun; pools of translucent water; detached rocks, looking like the ruins of Druidical temples; and caverns, the handiworks of nature, the results of her operations for untold centuries.

In the neighbourhood of Tintern is Piercefield Park, on the top of a lofty cliff, said to be the most beautiful garden in England, with its three miles of walks, amongst luxuriant foliage, with a superb view of the river, winding, with varying breadth, amongst hills, rocks, and crags of fantastic forms; and near by is Wyndcliff, a rocky height seven or eight hundred feet high, from whose summit may be seen a magnificent panorama stretching forth into nine counties, whilst immediately beneath may be seen the same prospect as that which presents itself to the eye from Piercefield, but, from the greater elevation, seen to better advantage. “Perhaps,” says one writer, “there is no spot in England from which such a series of glorious prospects is beheld;” and another, “A scene of such transcendent beauty as casts a sort of shade on every former scene. I felt as if I had been conducted by the hand of some invisible agent to the region of enchantment or the garden of Elysium.”

There is also near by a remarkable group of rocks called the Twelve Apostles, with a thirteenth called St. Peter's Thumb, where St. Peter

“Holds his thumb aloft, and seems to say
Look up, O man! for that's to Heaven the way.”

St. Briavel's Castle, now used as a prison; a fine waterfall called Cleiaddon, and Kyman Hill, with a naval monument on the summit—a favourite haunt of pleasure seekers. Indeed the entire county of Monmouth presents a constant succession of beautiful landscape scenery, and having been a Border county, had an unusual number of castles—Raglan, Chepstow, Monmouth, White, Caldecot, etc., many of whose ruins still remain picturesque features in the landscape, as do also the ruins of the abbeys of Llanthony, Tintern, and one or two others.

On the right bank of the Wye, lie, about twelve miles distant from each other, two old historic towns, perched on lofty cliffs crowned by the hoary ruins of their castles, those of Chepstow and Monmouth, and between them, rather nearer the former than the latter, lies Tintern, nestling in a valley. In the middle ages the two castles stood out with their massive walls and rough ungainly towers, frowning in masculine majesty, and peopled by an equally rough soldiery, seeming to bid defiance to all comers, and to spread a shield of protection over the abode of piety, learning, and charity, smiling in feminine loveliness below, and feeling secure under the shadow of their walls. “The castle,” says Gilpin, “meant for defence, stands upon a hill: the Abbey, meant for meditation, is hid in the sequestered vale.”

Monmouth, the northern protector of Tintern, situated at the confluence of the rivers Wye and Monnow, is a thrice illustrious town. Firstly, it was the birthplace of the scapegrace Prince Hal, who was wont to royster with Jack Falstaff at the Boar's Head, and who bearded Judge Gascoigne on the Bench; but who afterwards glorified his name by the victory at

Agincourt. Secondly, as the abode of Geoffrey of Monmouth, who wrote here his veracious chronicle and his narrative of *King Leir and his Three Daughters*, the base upon which Shakespere built his drama of *King Lear*. And thirdly, as being the British counterpart of the city of Macedon, at least so Fluellyn informs us, observing that both have given birth to a hero, the one Henry the Fifth, the other Alexander the Great; that they both begin with an M, and "if you look in the maps of the world, you shall find in the comparisons between Macedon and Monmouth that the situations, look you, is both alike. There is a river in Macedon, and there is also, moreover, a river at Monmouth; it is called the Wye at Monmouth, but it is out of my prains what is the name of the other river; 'tis all one; 'tis so like as my fingers is to my fingers, and there is salmons in both." The town was at one time strongly fortified with walls and a castle, but of these there were but few remains even in Leland's time, and now scarcely a vestige. There was also a Benedictine Priory, founded *temp.* Henry I., by Wilenoc, Lord of Monmouth, the tower and spire of the church still remaining, and forming, with a newly built body, the parish church of St. Mary, whilst a portion of the Priory House has been converted into a private dwelling, in which is a room said to have been the Library of Geoffrey of Monmouth.

Chepstow, the southern protector of Tintern, is seated on a lofty rock at the confluence of the Wye with the Severn. From its commanding position it was a fortification of considerable importance both under the Britons and the Romans. A castle was built here by William Fitz Osborn, Earl of Hereford, a relative of William the Conqueror, who did good service at the battle of Hastings, and was afterwards appointed Justiciary of Northern England, and joint Marshal, along with Roger de Montgomery. In *Domesday Book* it is called Castellum Estrighoiel, from the Clare family, Lords of Striguil, a castle in the vicinity, who held the Earldoms of Hereford and Pembroke, and were the founders of Tintern Abbey. The castle was rebuilt in the thirteenth century, with enormous walls and massive keep, seeming to grow out of the rock, or as if the rock itself had been hewn into a castle. It had four courts, and covered three acres of ground; underwent several attacks and sieges, the last series being in 1645, when after a stout resistance it was captured by the Parliamentarians, but retaken by the brave Sir Nicholas Kenney, and eventually recovered by Colonel Ewer, but not until Kenney was slain, along with forty of his one hundred and sixty men, and the remainder reduced to skeletons by famine.

The ruins, now covered with ivy, stand out with majestic grandeur against the sky, from the summit of the lofty cliff. It has been the prison of two famous men, Jeremy Taylor in 1656, on suspicion of being privy to a royalist insurrection; and Henry Marten, the regicide, who died here in 1687, after twenty years' incarceration. There was a Benedictine Priory in the town, founded soon after the Conquest, but it does not appear by whom; most probably by some member of the Clare family, as it was called Striguil.

Where Tintern Abbey now stands a great battle was fought at the close of the sixth century. Theodoric, or Tudric, King of Glamorgan, who had been a great warrior and victor in many a field of battle, about the year 596, deeming his end approaching, resigned his crown, and retired to a hermitage, to prepare for death by meditation, devotional exercises, and asceticism. Soon after, however, the Pagan Saxons, under Coelwulf, King of Wessex, son of Cutha, and descended from Woden, "who," says the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, "fought and contended incessantly against either the Angles or the Welsh, or the Picts, or the Scots," entered Wales, and reduced Maurice, son of Theodoric, to such extremity, that the old king was implored to come forth from his retreat, and again lead his army to victory. It was much against his will that he was persuaded to do so, and a pitched battle took place, in which he was mortally wounded, and was conveyed to the village of Mathern, where he died, and was buried at Chepstow. It is not stated what was the result of the fight, but it is presumable that Coelwulf was the victor.

The abbey of Tintern was founded by Walter de Clare, or de Tonnebridge, in the year 1131, and as other members of his family were eminent benefactors and protectors of the monastery,—so much so indeed, that it seemed to be part and parcel of their domains,—it will be necessary, preliminary, to give some account of their descent.

Geoffrey was a natural son of Richard I., Duke of Normandy, and had issue Gislebert, surnamed Crispin, who was Earl of Brion, in Normandy. Richard Fitz Gilbert, his son, accompanied his kinsman, Duke William, to England, fought at Senlac, and was rewarded for his services with estates both in England and Normandy. In 1073, under the designation of Ricardus de Benefacto, he was appointed joint Justiciary of England along with William de Warren, and three years afterwards he aided the king in suppressing the rebellion of the Earls of Hereford and Norfolk, wherein he distinguished himself by his bravery. In *Domesday Book* he is styled Ricardus de Tonebruge, from his castle of Tonbridge, which he obtained from the Archbishop of Canterbury in exchange for that of Brion, in Normandy. At that



FROM THE NORTH-EAST.

time he was possessor of ninety-five lordships in Suffolk, one of which was Clare, which name he and his descendants assumed; thirty-eight in Surrey; thirty-five in Essex; three in Cambridgeshire; and others in Wilts. and Devon. He married Rohesa, daughter of Walter Gifford, Earl of Buckingham, and had issue—

GILBERT, his heir.

ROGER, a warrior of fame *temp.* Henry I., who died *s.p.*, and left his estates to his brother Gilbert.

WALTER, to whom the king gave two manors and all he could take from the Welsh; who thereupon made an inroad into that country, took Nether Gwent and half the country of Lege, says Brooke, and died *s.p.* 3rd. Stephen.

RICHARD, originally a monk of Bec, in Normandy, afterwards Abbot of Ely.

ROBERT, Steward to King Henry I., who married Maud, daughter of Simon St. Liz, Earl of Huntingdon, and had issue Walter Fitz Robert, whose son, Robert Fitz Walter, was a foremost leader in the baronial insurrection against King John, and was denominated "Marshal of the Army of God and Holy Church."

And two daughters.

Richard de Clare, or de Tonbridge, was engaged in the Welsh wars, and is supposed to have been slain when engaged in a skirmish across the Border.

At this time the De Clares appear to have been a sort of Wardens of the Marches of Wales. The castle of Chepstow was built by Fitz Osborn, Earl of Hereford, immediately

after the Conquest, as he died in 1070. His third son, Earl Roger, joining with the Earl of Norfolk in an insurrection against King William I., in 1074-5, was cast into perpetual prison, and his estates confiscated, the castle of Chepstow being given to the De Clares, who seem to have resided at another castle in the vicinity, called Striguil.

Gilbert Fitz Richard, de Tonebruge, his eldest son, resided chiefly at Tonbridge. He was implicated in the rebellion of Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, but chancing to have the opportunity of saving the king (William Rufus) from falling into an ambushade, he returned to his allegiance and was pardoned. He married Adeliza, daughter of the Earl of Cleremont, and issue—

RICHARD, his heir.

GILBERT, created Earl of Pembroke.

WALTER, founder of the abbey of Tintern, who died issueless.

HERVEY OF MONTMAURICE, one of the heroes of the conquest of Ireland, who subsequently became a monk at Canterbury, and died there.

BALDWIN, who left issue three sons and a daughter.



FROM THE SOUTH.

Richard, his son, was created Earl of Hertford, *circa* 1113. He made several inroads into Wales, and became the possessor by sword law of a great extent of territory, but demanding some concessions from the king which were not granted, he raised a revolt, and eventually was slain in a skirmish in Wales. He married Alice, sister of Ranulph, second Earl of Chester, by whom he had issue three sons, and a daughter Alice, who was married to Cadwalladr ap Griffith, Prince of North Wales.

Gilbert, his eldest son, succeeded as second Earl, and is styled by Dugdale Earl of Clare, as well, which appears to be an error. He espoused the cause of the Empress Matilda against King Stephen, and after the confiscation of some of his estates, died *s.p.* in 1151. Roger, his brother, succeeded as third Earl. He had also a commission from Henry II. to take all the lands he could in Wales, and marched at the head of an army into county Cardigan, where he took and garrisoned several castles. He married Maud, daughter of James de St. Hilary (who married, secondly, William de Albini, Earl of Arundel), and had issue an only son. He was surnamed the Good, from his liberal gifts to the church, and died in 1173.

Richard, his son, fourth Earl, married Amicia, daughter and coheir of William, Earl of Gloucester, by whom he had issue, Gilbert, his heir, and Joane, who married Rhys Grig, Prince of South Wales. He was one of the twenty-five barons appointed to enforce the observance of Magna Charta, and died in 1218.

Gilbert, his son, fifth Earl, became eventually, after the death of the other coheiresses, Earl of Gloucester, *jure matris*. He sided with the barons in their war against King John, as he did also in the following reign, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Lincoln. He married Isabel, daughter, and one of the coheiresses of William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, who after his death married Richard, Earl of Cornwall, brother of King Henry III. He died in 1229, leaving issue three sons and three daughters.

Richard, his eldest son, sixth Earl of Hertford and second of Gloucester, was one of the foremost men of his time. He married clandestinely, against the will of the king, Margaret, daughter of Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, from whom he was probably divorced, or the marriage was annulled, as in the following year he married Maud, daughter of John de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln. He was poisoned at the table of Peter de Savoy, the queen's uncle, in 1262, leaving issue two sons and two daughters.

Gilbert, his eldest son, surnamed the Red, seventh Earl of Hertford and third of Gloucester, took an active part in the baronial war under Simon de Montfort, by whom he was knighted after the battle of Lewes, and had a grant of a great portion of the lands of John de Warren, Earl of Surrey, but becoming jealous of the power of Montfort, he abandoned the baronial banner, commanded the second brigade at the decisive battle of Evesham, and took part in other important events of the time. He married, first, Alice, daughter of Guy, Earl of Angoulesme, and niece of the King of France, who was divorced from him, 13 Edward I., when he married Joan of Acre, daughter of King Edward I. He died in 1295, leaving issue Gilbert, his heir, and three daughters, one of whom married Hugh le Despenser, the second Piers Gaveston, and the third John de Burgh, whose grand-daughter married the Duke of Clarence, and was mother of Philippa, who married the Earl of March, through whom the House of York derived their right to the throne.

The Countess Joan, after the death of Earl Gilbert, her husband, married clandestinely, without first obtaining the consent of her father the king, Ralph de Monthermer, a commoner, but obtained pardon for the offence at the intercession of Bec, Bishop of Durham. Ultimately the king formed an attachment for his son-in-law, and caused him to be summoned to Parliament as Earl of Hertford and Gloucester, *jure uxoris*, although his wife had no right to the titles, and it must be looked upon as a summons of courtesy. The countess died in 1307, when her son, Gilbert de Clare, succeeded to the titles, and Monthermer was simply summoned as Baron Radulpho de Monthermer.

Gilbert, his only son, succeeded as eighth Earl of Hertford and fourth of Gloucester, but did not enjoy his dignity long, being slain at the battle of Bannockburn in 1313. He married Maud, daughter of Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, but, dying issueless, the titles became extinct, and his possessions were divided between his three sisters and coheiresses, Maud, Margaret, and Elizabeth.

Gilbert, second son of Gilbert de Clare de Tonnebruge, and brother of Richard, Earl of Hertford, like his uncle, Walter, had a commission from the king to make forays into Wales, and to hold all the land he could take. He went, therefore, into Cardiganshire, brought the whole of the county into subjection, and built two castles to overawe the population, and for his military prowess and achievements was created, in 1138, Earl of Pembroke, by King Stephen. He married Elizabeth, sister of Waleran, Earl of Mellent, and died in 1149, leaving issue—

RICHARD, second Earl.

BALDWIN, slain at Lincoln when fighting for King Stephen.

BASILIA, who married Raymond, son of William Fitzgerald.

Richard, his eldest son, surnamed Strongbow, succeeded as second Earl, well known in Irish history as the conqueror of Ireland. At that time, Ireland, like England during the Saxon Heptarchy, was parcelled out amongst a number of petty kings, who were continually quarrelling and fighting with each other. One of them hearing of the warlike fame of Earl Richard, sent to ask his assistance, and he passed over with a large force without the permission of the King of England. Without any difficulty he took Dublin, and married the king's daughter, Eva, upon which a great portion of Ireland submitted to him. The King of England (Henry II.) was greatly offended at his conduct, and seized his English possessions, but became reconciled on the earl giving up to him Dublin and all the chief cities he had won, allowing him to retain his other conquests, and restored to him his English estates, constituting him at the same time Justiciary of Ireland. The earl founded a priory for Knights Hospitallers at Kilmainham, and died *s.p.m.* in 1176, leaving an only daughter, Isabella, who married William Marshal, a member of the baronial family of Mareschale, who held the office of Marshals of England, to whom she conveyed the earldom by her marriage in 1189.

William Marshal, third Earl of Pembroke, *jure uxoris*, in which capacity he bore the sceptre and cross at the coronation of King Richard I., was a nobleman of great importance and position, who was appointed one of the Governors of the Realm during that monarch's crusade to the Holy Land. He was constituted Sheriff of Gloucestershire and Sussex, and had grants of Goodrich Castle in Herefordshire, and of the Province of Leinster in Ireland, to hold by knight's service. He adhered to King John in the troubles of that reign, and under Henry III. defeated the barons at Lincoln, after which he advanced upon London, and reduced it to extremity, when peace put an end to further measures. He was as much distinguished for his wisdom in the council as for his valour in the field, and equally so for his munificence to the church. He died in 1219, leaving issue five sons—William, Richard, Gilbert, Walter, and Anselme, all of whom succeeded to the earldom, and all of whom died childless; in consequence of which, on the death of the last-named, the title became extinct; but why it should does not appear. As the title came into the family by an heiress, so it ought to have passed by another heiress, he having five sisters, his coheiresses, daughters of William Marshall and Isabel de Clare, Countess of Pembroke.

Hugh Bigod, or Bigot, third Earl of Norfolk,—descended from Roger Bigod, possessor of one hundred and seventeen lordships in Suffolk and six in Essex, *temp.* William I., and from Hugh, Steward to King Henry I., who was created Earl of the East Angles, otherwise of Norfolk, in 1140,—married Maud, eldest daughter of William Mareschal, who inherited the office of Marshal of England, and obtained, as her share of the estates, Hempstead-Marshall, in the county of Berks, and the lordships of Chepstow and Carlogh. After his death she married, secondly, William de Warren, Earl of Surrey; and thirdly, Walter de Dunstanville. The earl, who was one of the twenty-five barons nominated to enforce the observance of Magna Charta, died in 1225, leaving issue—

ROGER, fourth Earl.

HUGH, Chief Justice of England.

JOHN.

The Earl, who adhered to Simon de Montfort in the Baronial War, was slain at the battle of Lewes.

Roger, his son, fourth Earl, was great at tilting, and distinguished himself by his skill in many a joust and tournament. Associated with the barons in their dispute with Henry III., he was appointed by them, after the battle of Lewes, Governor of Orford Castle, in Suffolk. He married Isabel, sister of Alexander, King of Scotland, but died without issue.

Roger, his nephew, son of Hugh the Justiciary, succeeded as fifth Earl, and made himself a name in the wars of King Edward I. In the 29th. Edward I., he made that king his heir, and gave up the Marshal's rod for £1,000 down and £1,000 per annum per life, with the condition that if he should have children it should be restored to his family; in consequence of which he was re-created Earl of Norfolk, in 1302, with remainder to his heirs male by his then wife, the first, but dying issueless, although he was twice married, the earldom became extinct, although he left a brother, John, who was indubitably his heir, and who but for this extraordinary and unjust transaction, would have succeeded as sixth Earl.

The above genealogical descent of the illustrious families of De Clare, Mareschal, and Bigod, although condensed into a mere summary, is somewhat long; but considering that they were the founders, the protectors, and the benefactors in the shape of lands, liberties,



FROM SOUTH TRANSEPT.

franchises, and immunities, and were at sundry times the builders of the abbey, the church, and the appurtenant offices, the history of Tintern would be incomplete if it were not given, to enable the reader to understand who the men were who for four hundred years established and maintained the abbey.

It was in the reign of King Henry I. that Walter de Clare determined upon the erection of an abbey, to the glory of God and the Virgin Mary, upon the family domains. He pitched upon a fertile valley, about five miles from Striguil Castle, a spot well suited by its seclusion for meditative contemplation, shrouded, as it was, amidst the foliage of venerable trees, some of vast magnitude, which might have witnessed the mystic rites of Druid worship; and encircled by uplands, and hills, and lofty cliffs of rocks, which rose from the banks of the river flowing along at the foot. It has often been said that the appreciation of the beauties of nature is a taste of modern growth, and to a certain extent it may be so. The unlettered knights of the days of chivalry perceived no beauty in anything save the glitter of a court, the gorgeous appliances of a tournament, the glorious pomp of war, or the fair faces of the

ladies in whose honour they shivered their lances; whilst the down-trodden serf—the ignorant boors, steeped in barbarism and superstition, who were chained to the soil by unremitting labour, above which their obtuse intellects were unable to rise, were utterly incapable of perceiving the charms of nature, and would look upon the most glorious sunset, the most picturesque landscape, or the sublimity of the ocean, with a stolid gaze, and without the slightest emotion of pleasure. But it is equally certain that the monks, with whom was all the intellect, literature, science, and refinement of these dark ages, possessed this faculty—a perception of the beautiful in a high degree, which is evidenced by the fact of their building their monasteries in the midst of the most charming natural scenery, as, for instance, Bolton, Fountains, Netley, Tintern, Llanthony, and a hundred others which might be named; and this fine taste is further illustrated in their development of that most graceful and suggestive style of architecture, called, for want of a better name, Gothic; and although Walter de Clare



WEST FRONT.

resolved upon building his abbey here, there is but little doubt that it was selected by the monks, probably from Waverley Abbey, whom he took into his counsel. But whoever chose it, a fitter spot could not have been found, plentifully supplied, as it was, with wood, water, and a fertile soil, and shut in by the encircling hills from the tumults and warrings of the outer world.

"Tintern stands," says a modern writer, "in a lovely valley—in an amphitheatre of hills and rocks, studded with ash, birch, hazel, and yew, mingling their different tones of colour, and rising out of a thick underwood and craggy rocks. Everything bears an impress of that calm, that religious quiet, that tranquil aspiration, which, out of the quiet nooks of the earth turn the thoughts upwards to heaven."

St. Bernard, Abbot of Clervaux, when he was visited by Henry Murdac, Abbot of Fountains and Archbishop of York, said,—*"Believe me, you will find more lessons in woods than in books. Trees and stones will teach you what you cannot learn from masters. Have you forgotten how it is written, 'He made him to suck honey out of the rock, and oil*

out of the flinty rock?' You have need not so much of reading as of prayer; and thus may God open your hearts to understand His law and His commandments."

In Wales, Ireland, Iona, Yorkshire, Northumberland, and other places in the north of England, were monasteries established by the ancient British Christians, the most famous of which was that of Bangor, whose two gates (so vast was the compass of the walls) were half a mile distant from each other. This monastery was divided into seven portions or colleges, each consisting of three hundred brethren, which was destroyed, and the monks massacred, by Æthelfrith, the Pagan King of Northumbria, not, as is usually said, at the instigation of St. Augustine, for refusing to submit to his rule. After the arrival of St. Augustine and St. Paulinus, all the abbeys that were founded were of the Benedictine order, and soon overspread the land. But notwithstanding the illustrious line of Saints and learned men of which that order could boast, corruptions crept in, the discipline became lax, and by the time of the Conquest the monasteries of England and the Continent had become to a great extent secularized, more places of literary leisure for learned men than retreats of piety, poverty, self-abnegation, and charity.

About the close of the eleventh century, Robert, Abbot of Belesme, in Burgundy, saw and deplored the degeneracy of the monkish fraternities, and endeavoured to reform his abbey by a stricter observance of St. Benedict's rules; but failing in his efforts, he, with a few devout followers, migrated to Cîteaux, near Chalons, and established a monastery as a reformed branch of the Benedictines, which came to be recognized as a separate order under the denomination of Cistercians. Some thirty years afterwards, Bernard, afterwards canonized, was Abbot of Clervaux, a daughter of Cîteaux, and was at that time the head of the order, and looked upon as the second founder. In 1129, Waverley Abbey, the first English Cistercian abbey, was founded in Surrey by Walter Gifford, Bishop of Winchester. This appears to have come under the notice of Walter de Clare, and he resolved that his monastery should be of that order, with its reformed principles, rather than of the more worldly Benedictine, and thus Tintern was the second Cistercian monastery established in England. The third was Rievaulx, in Yorkshire, founded in 1132 by Walter l'Espece; and the fourth Byland, in the same county, founded by Roger de Mowbray, in 1134.

The Cistercian houses, in reference to their reformed rules, usually bore a Latin inscription in some conspicuous position, thus rendered by Wordsworth:—

"Here man more purely lives; less oft doth fall;
More promptly rises; walks with stricter heed;
More safely rests; dies happier; is freed
Earlier from cleansing fires; and gains withal
A brighter crown."

Of Walter de Clare, the founder of the abbey, we know nothing, excepting that he was the son of Gilbert Fitz Richarde de Tonnebruge, and died childless. We may assume, however, that he was possessed of considerable wealth, and that he was a pious man, or at any rate anxious for the welfare of his soul in a future world, by the establishment of Tintern Abbey; for people were wont in his age to believe implicitly what priests and monks told them of the supernatural state of existence, and to make bargains with heaven, stipulating for the endowment of a religious house that their souls should pass with scant duration through the purifying fires of purgatory, and reach everlasting bliss with less penal suffering than the common herd of mankind, who possessed not lands to bestow on monks and priests to pray for the welfare of their souls.

He would most likely send to Waverley, the then only Cistercian abbey in England, for monks to assist him in the establishment of his house, and most probably his first abbot, as well as a colony of monks to inhabit it, would come from the same monastery, as it would

appear from the scanty records we have of the subsequent history of Tintern that intimate relations were maintained between the two houses.

The plans were drawn up for the monastic buildings, leaving an open space in the centre for the future church, where probably a temporary oratory would be erected to serve for mass and prayers until the church should be erected. Of the precise plan of the buildings no record has come down to shew what it was, but from our knowledge of the usual arrangement of Cistercian houses, and from some few fragments which still remain, we may form a more or less accurate idea of what they were.

On the north side of the church there are some slight vestiges of the cloisters (which probably enclosed a quadrangle), with dormitories above, which seems to be confirmed by the existence of a doorway at the northern end of the transept, as if for the admission of the monks into the church for the celebration of the nocturns. On the same side also there are some remains of what appears to have been the refectory, and adjoining it a small oratory, where grace was said and portions of scripture read during meals. As the kitchen was usually in close proximity to the refectory, we may presume that it stood on the north side as well, with its appendant offices,—scullery, fuel-house, etc., also the wine and beer cellars. A picturesque ruin on the south side, close to the river, is conjectured to have been the abbot's house, and here, in contiguity to it, would, most likely, be the Chapter House, the Library, and the Scriptorium; also the Hospitium for the entertainment of strangers, the Almonry for the distribution of charity to the poor, the Porter's Lodge, and possibly a Chapel, in which service was performed daily for the benefit of the wayfarer and the poor. The Infirmary, which was always erected apart from the other buildings, would probably lie to the north-west of the Church. More might have been known of the plan had the ruins been left where they had fallen, and had not the ruined walls been demolished in comparatively recent times, to construct miserable cottages out of the materials, to house a colony of paupers and beggars, who became a perfect nuisance to visitors, until they were removed. There can be no doubt about the style of architecture of the buildings erected by Walter de Clare. They would be Norman-sque, the intermediate style between the Romanesque and the Gothic, partaking of the nature of both, with stunted pillars, plain in their ornamentation of base and capital; round arches, usually enriched with the chevron or zigzag moulding; groined ceilings and small round-headed windows, sometimes divided into two lights by a central shaft, with two inner round arches.

It must not, however, be supposed that De Clare built the whole of the above buildings at first, or at all. The original buildings would doubtless be the cloisters and dormitories, the refectory and kitchen, and the oratory. Other buildings would be added afterwards, and perhaps by other members of the family, as they were required, and would display different styles of architecture, as the Norman gradually developed into the pointed Gothic style.

The founder endowed the monastery with certain lands, but where they were situated is not known, which were added to by other members of his family in subsequent times; and he would grant them a charter to hold such lands, with certain privileges and immunities, but no such charter has come down, as far as is known. There are, however, two charters of confirmation, granted to the abbey at different periods, which are given, in their original Latin, in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, from which we learn something of the landed possessions and franchises of the fraternity. The first is that of William Marshall, son of William Marshall who married Isabella de Clare, daughter and heiress of Richard Strongbow, Earl of Hertford and Pembroke, the conqueror of Ireland, of which the following is a summarised translation:—

“Charter of William Earl Mareschal the younger, in confirmation of the foundation of the Abbey of Tynterne.

"William Mareschal of England, Earl of Pembroke, to his French, English, Welsh, and Irish friends, bailiffs and adherents, health in the Lord.

"Know all of you, in the sight of God, and for the health of our own soul, and for the souls, of happy memory, of Walter, son of Richard, son of Gilbert Strongbowe, my ancestor; and of William Mareschal my father, and Isabella my mother, and of the souls of my ancestors, heirs, and successors, have granted, and by my present Charter confirmed, to God and to the Church of St. Mary at Tynterne and their successors, serving God there, for free, pure, and perpetual alms, all lands and possessions, and liberties and free customs underwritten, which they have of the donations of my ancestors or other founders or benefactors, or of our gift, namely."—Here follows a list of lands, tenements, meadows, pastures,



FIG. 1. P. 12.

warrens, fisheries, water rent, etc., "and for all their tenants, in our chase, pasturage of their cattle, and for their rustics fuel, without any let or impediment of us, our heirs, or assignees, for ever. For their tenants free toll wherever they shall be pleased to go, without any hindrance, with the consent of the Abbot and Convent.

"We have granted and confirmed for ourselves, our heirs, and assignees, aforesaid, to the Abbot, Monks, and their successors, all manner of forfeits, redemptions, fines, and amercements of their own subjects, tenants, and servants, touching us, our heirs, etc., in our court-hundreds, shires, court-baron, and wodes-pedres, within and without the borough, as often as, and in whatsoever manner they shall happen, etc.; and that the aforesaid Abbey of Tynterne, together with all its woods, lands, and tenements, be without the forest, and altogether without the regards or jurisdiction of the Forester.

"That the Abbot and Monks be free from vexation from Bailiff, Forester, etc., concerning fodder and kylw, and from other such things as they are wont to exact; and shall be free from all complaints, occasions, customs, servile work, and secular exaction.

"That they, their subjects, tenants, and servants be free from toll and other exactions,

and from the suit and service of courts-hundred, assize, shires, summonses, and from all citements, pleadings, and county processes. Also from marage, pontage, pannage, passage, carriage, tallage, piccage, and from blodewyte, fitoniyle, hengwyte, flemeniswyte, and from murder and robberies. To hold all the above-mentioned lands, woods, churches, fisheries, free customs, etc., with soke and sake, thol and theam, and infangtheof; with pasturage, pannage, fuel, and stone for building through all his forests at their will and pleasure. Also power to fence round their domains; to make warrens; to build mills; to take toll of strangers, and to make broad roads for their convenience across the Lord's lands. And if any one, at present or in future, shall commence a suit concerning these things, which I have given and granted, the Monks shall not be bound to answer it, but it shall belong to



NAVE, LOOKING EAST.

me and my heirs to satisfy the complainant, by exchange or by any other reasonable method; and to warrant and secure to the Monks whatever I have granted them. I therefore strictly forbid, upon my penal forfeit, namely, of twenty marks, that any one maliciously vex, molest, or in any way disturb them, their servants, affairs, possessions or liberties, which if any one shall presume to do, in despite to God and myself, that he shall have incurred the above-mentioned forfeiture; and whoever shall promote and maintain the place, let them, with the blessing of God, and myself, receive eternal reward.

"And under this form, we will warrant, secure, and defend, against all men, all the things aforesaid, from ourself, heirs, etc., to the monks and their successors, for ever. In testimony of which, we have caused our present Charter and confirmation to be authenticated by the impression of our seal.

"Witness.—Sir William Gross, the elder; Sir Hammond Gross; Sir Randolf Fitz Richard; Sir Robert de Mora; Sir Philip Deneband; Nicholas de St. Bruget; Sir Robert Fitz Pagan;

Sir William de Darneford; Master William of Ch(rist) Ch(urch), Steward of Lower Wenlie; and other knights.

"Given at Strugull the 22nd. day of March, in the 7th. year of the reign of King Henry (III.), the son of King John (1223)."

The other was granted by Roger Bigod, fifth Earl of Norfolk, grandson of Roger, third Earl, who married Maud, eldest daughter of William Mareschal, third Earl of Pembroke, by Isabel de Clare, which runs thus:—

"Roger le Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, and Marshal of England, health in the Lord.

"Be it known to your community that I, in the sight of God, and for the health, of my soul, and of the souls of my ancestors and heirs, have granted and confirmed, to God and the Church of St. Mary de Tinterne, to the Abbot and Monks and their successors serving God there, for a free, pure, and perpetual alms, all the lands and possessions, liberties and free customs, underwritten, which they hold by the donation of my ancestors and other founders and benefactors, or by my gift—that is to say—the whole boundary of Quicksete, of Porcassek, and on the other side the covert of Grove, with all their appurtenances, in wood and plain, and whatever they hold in Pentary of tenements, woods, lands, rents, and plains; with other their liberties; and the whole territory of Modisgat, with all its appurtenances, namely, with the pasture of sheep and other their cattle everywhere in our chace of Tudenham; and of the underwood of the said chace, whatever shall be necessary for them to burn and make their fires.

"Witness.—Sir John le Bigod, my brother; Sir John le Bigod de Stockton; Nicholas de Kingeston, Knight; Elias de Aylbreton, Steward of Strugull; Philip de More; Roger de St. Maur; William de Dinham; Andrew de Beauchamp; and others.

"Given at Modesgate, the 4th. day of August, in the year of our Lord 1301; 29th. Edward I."

The abbey remained for a century and a half without anything more than a temporary church, until Roger Bigod, fifth Earl of Norfolk, resolved upon erecting one worthy of the establishment. He caused plans to be drawn, and as this was the period when Gothic architecture flourished in great purity, he succeeded in obtaining a design, plain, but symmetrical, exteriorly, and singularly beautiful in the interior. The style was of the Transition period from the Early English to the Decorated in the choir, which was the only portion he lived to complete; whilst the nave, transept, and tower were of later erection, and inclined more to the floriated style. He bestowed specially on the church the lordship of Eccle and the church of St. Edward of Halbergate, with all their appurtenances.

The church was simple in form, cruciform in plan, with nave, choir, transept, and tower at the intersection. The entire length of the nave and choir was two hundred and twenty-eight feet, that of the transept one hundred and fifty. Throughout the whole length runs a noble colonnade of clustered pillars, thirty-seven feet apart across the nave, whence spring the pointed arches, the centres of which are seventy feet from the floor. A similar double range of pillars runs along the transept, separating it from the aisles, as they do also in the nave and choir. At the intersection four larger pillars shoot up into the air, which supported the groined vaulting on which stood the tower. The two western pillars stood in a line with the wall of the transept, but the two eastern stood free, ranging in line with the eastern pillars of the colonnade of the transept. When complete the building displayed conspicuously (as indeed it does now) four lofty gables, the terminals of the nave, choir, and north and south transepts, and in each gable was a noble window, presumably filled with stained glass, all alike in size, and placed at the same height from the floor,

the dimensions being sixty feet by twenty-seven feet, but differing in detail, and corresponding with the great arches for the support of the tower. The east window was divided into two lights, separated by a slender shaft of delicate proportions, fifty feet in height, and in each light were mullions and tracery of the Transition style. In it were emblazoned the arms of Earl Roger, the builder. The frame of the west window is still in perfect preservation, the decorated tracery being very fine, and when filled with painted glass must have had a splendid effect. Archdeacon Coxe says, "Critics who censure this window as too broad for its height, do not consider that it was intended for a particular object, to harmonize with the general plan; and had the architect diminished the breadth in proportion to the height, the grand effect of the perspective would have been considerably lessened."

There are no indications of there having been a Lady Chapel behind the altar, as was usual in Cistercian abbeys, nor of any other chapels, and the high altar would of course be placed at the eastern end backed by the painted window, instead of a reredos to separate such a chapel from the choir. An organ, as was customary, would probably stand at the western end of the choir; and scattered over the floor of enamelled tiles were the altar-shaped and other tombs, with effigies of the De Clares, Mareschals, and Bigods. Altogether, when in a perfect state, the church, with its vistas of pillars and graceful lines of arches, each line terminated by a painted window, with the monks, in their white robes, moving about in the midst singing anthems, must have presented a vision of beauty that cannot be realized now-a-days in our cold unadorned churches. "No one," says Howitt, "ever enters the place without being deeply impressed by its noble proportions, and the classical grace and chastity of its architecture." And Coxe observes,—"From the length of the nave, the height of the walls, the aspiring form of the pointed arches, and the size of the east window, which closes the perspective, the first impressions are those of grandeur and sublimity. But as these emotions subside, and we descend from a contemplation of the whole to an examination of the parts, we are no less struck with the regularity of the plan and the delicacy of the ornaments; we feel that elegance is its characteristic no less than grandeur, and that the whole is a combination of the beautiful and sublime."

"Lead on, bright power! I see thy beckoning smile,
And follow thee through sacred Tintern's door;
With awe I tread the tessellated floor,
As now thou bidd'st me view each lofty aisle;
Then, mid the solemn grandeur, muse awhile
On those who (ere they dwelt on earth no more)
So framed the sculptured roof high arching o'er:
These clustering pillars, raised with wondrous toil,
The pointed arch and column well combine
A grove-like long perspective thus to give,
Where statued niche and blazoned panel line
The massive walls, and sainted forms still live
In pictured art, while dazzling gems entwine
Their cold, unconscious relics in the splendid shrine."

It is said that "happy is the land that has no history," and the same may be said of religious houses, too many of which present very chequered annals of plunder, devastation, and massacre. Tintern has no history at all to speak of, no records of suffering or disaster, and has left no name of distinction standing out prominently above those of the long succession of abbots and monks who dwelt within its walls, and we may assume that the lives of the brethren glided along, with an even tenor, like a smoothly flowing river, unobstructed by rocks or boulders, and never excited into tumultuous eddies or rushing force by the occurrence of rapids or falls. We know not even who was the first abbot placed over the community by Walter de Clare, nor do we know who surrendered the abbey at the disso-

lution. There is no list of abbots extant, but from the *Annales de Waverleia* we obtain the names of a few which are there mentioned incidentally; and from the same work, edited by H. R. Luard, 1805, we are enabled to glean a few other scattered notices having reference to the abbey. It is curious that in these annals we have no record of the foundation of Tintern, although it was the second Cistercian abbey established in England, Waverley itself having been the first; yet we have the following entries:—

"Fundata est Rievallis ii. non. Martii, 1129."
 "Abbatia de Fontibus fundata est 1132."

If the above date of the foundation of Rievaulx is correct, it occurred three years before that usually given, (1132), and in that case it would be the second abbey of the Cistercians



CHOIR, LOOKING WEST.

founded in England, whilst Tintern would take the third place. If indeed Furness does not take one of these places, which was founded in 1127, and disputed the honour of priority with Waverley, but it was originally a Benedictine abbey, and did not assume the Cistercian rule until a few years afterwards.

From these *Annales* we learn the names and dates of the following abbots:—

1187. A visitation of the Cistercian abbeys took place, when William, Abbot of Tintern, was dismissed or resigned, and was succeeded by Vido, Abbot of Kingswood.

1217. When King John died, the Dauphin, Lewis, was in England, at the head of the discontented barons, who desired to depose the reigning dynasty and place him on the throne of England. Henry III. on his succession was

only ten years of age, and William Marschale, third Earl of Pembroke, was appointed Protector of the Realm under the title of "Rector Regis et Regni;" who caused the young king to be crowned at Gloucester. He then turned his attention to Louis and the barons, whom he defeated at Lincoln, and finally drove the Dauphin out of England. In the meanwhile, however, a fleet of eighty ships, with succours, was sent from France for his assistance, but was met off Sandwich by Hubert de Burgh, Governor of Dover Castle, with forty ships, who destroyed the whole French fleet, with the exception of fifteen shattered vessels which managed to escape. The French fleet was under the command of Eustace le Moine,—or "the Monk,"—who had left his monastery in Flanders for a sea-roving life, and on board his vessel was Robertus, Abbot of Tintern. What he was doing there, excepting as a rebel to his king and to the patron of his abbey, Lord Pembroke, is not explained; but there he was, according to the *Annales*. Eustace's vessel was captured, and his head stricken off at once on his own deck, as he was considered to be not a true knight, and consequently not entitled to the honours of war, and besides had previously given great offence to England. Robert, the Abbot, was taken prisoner, but what became of him is not recorded. There would not appear to be much honour derivable from Earl Pembroke's victory at Lincoln, if the Dauphin's army consisted, as Speed says, "of ragged rascals, the very scumme and filthy froth of the French nation, whose beggary was so base that they had not clothes to hang on their backs, to supply the which they made many goe naked in all the places where they marched." He speaks of Eustace as "the ruffianly apostate who of a Monk became a Demoniacke." The Earl died two years after his victories, and, as Speed says, "well deserved his epitaph—

'Ireland's Saturne, England's sunne am I;
The Mars of France, and Normans' Mercurie.'

1252. Walter de Gifford, Abbot of Waverley, died, and was succeeded by Radulphus, Abbot of Dunkeswell, who had been translated from the abbacy of Tintern in 1245. He resigned in consequence of ill health in 1266.

1276. John, Abbot of Tintern, consecrated Hugh de Lewknor, Abbot of Waverley.

1250. Under this date there is an entry that Gilbert de Clare died at Penros, and that his body was conveyed to Tewkesbury for burial by the Abbot de Tinterne, whose name, however, is not given.

It must not be supposed, however, that although Tintern has no recorded history it altogether escaped such events as make history. Situated as it was on the border-land of England and Wales, between whom there was one continuous succession of wars and forays across the borders, with the attendant pillage, incendiarism, and murders, it could scarcely fail feeling the effects of such outrages. One such occurred five years after the building of the monastery, in which Richard de Clare, first Earl of Hertford, and brother of Walter, founder of the abbey, was killed, and the abbey possibly maltreated. The narrative is thus given by Florence of Worcester:—"A.D. 1136, shortly after the death of King Henry (I.), on the 4th. of the nones (2nd.) of December, a severe battle was fought at Gower, between the Normans and the Welsh, on the calends (1st.) of January, in which five hundred and sixteen were slain, and their bodies were horribly dragged about the fields and devoured by wolves. After which the Welsh made a terrible inroad, carrying destruction far and near of churches, villages, mills, cattle, and corn, castles and fortified places, and murdering a vast number of people, including the noble and amiable Richard, son of Gilbert de Clare, who fell into an ambush, and was slain by the Welsh on the 17th. of the calends of May (15th. April), and his body was carried to Gloucester, and honourably buried in the Chapter House."

Giraldus Cambrensis gives a different version. He says:—"A short time after the death of King Henry I., Richard de Clare, a nobleman of high birth, and Lord of Cardiganshire, passed this way (Coed Grono, a wooded pass), in his journey from England into Wales, accompanied by Brian de Wallingford, Lord of the Province, and many men at arms. At the pass of Coed Grono, and at the entrance into the wood, he dismissed him and his followers, though much against their will, and proceeded on his journey, unarmed, preceded only by a minstrel and a singer, one accompanying the other on a fiddle; not far from where Jorwerth, brother of Morgan of Caerleon, and other of the family, rushed upon him unawares from the thicket, and killed him and many of his followers."

Johannes Wigorniensis gives some subsequent details,—that on the death of Richard, the neighbouring insurgents converged into one body and utterly routed his army of three thousand cavalry, and then laid waste the country. "Thirty-six miles of flourishing country became a desert; old folk, left naked and hungry, died on the hearth; youths of both sexes passed away into slavery; women of every age bewailed the violence done upon them. In Richard's castle, short of food and forlorn, lay his widow, sister of Ranulph, Earl of

Chester, hopelessly crying for help; beleaguered by savages more dire than hunger or any grief." Baldwin, brother of Richard, was sent against them with a body of horse and an ample supply of money, but he "abandoned himself to gluttony and sloth, and then, in want and disgrace, withdrew." Robert Fitz Harold, however, dispersed them, and then returned to England; after which the Kelts quarreled and fought amongst themselves to such effect that in the county of Cardigan alone there were ten thousand widows whose husbands had been either slain, drowned, or burnt. We can scarcely expect that in this anarchy Tintern, the abbey of the De Clares, would escape scatheless, unless, indeed, the castles of Chepstow and Monmouth were sufficient for its protection.

Again, in 1146, it is highly probable that the abbey would suffer under the evils of war. Gilbert de Clare, second Earl of Hertford, who had been hostage for his uncle, Ranulph, Earl of Chester, who had taken up arms against King Stephen, was placed in bondage, but obtained his freedom on offering to give up his castle to the king; but instead of doing so he joined the insurgents, and Stephen exclaimed, "It is monstrous that he, whom from a penniless knight I made an opulent earl, and to whom I have granted all his heart's desires, should join my adversaries. Where is faith? Where shame? Let us rise and speedily punish." And the king stormed and took three of his castles, laying siege to a fourth, which he left blockaded to go to Lincoln.

Nor would the fraternity of Tintern fare better than the other Cistercian communities when they were pillaged by King John in 1216. In the spring of 1210 he raised large sums of money by the most arbitrary means, especially from the Jews, who were tortured to contribute of their wealth for his Irish expedition; and on his return he resolved upon an expedition into Wales, for which he wanted more money. He therefore in the following year summoned the heads of monastic houses, male and female, to London, urged his wants in an irresistible manner, obtained contributions from them, more by menace than persuasion, and then again fell upon the Jews, casting them into dungeons until they paid his enormous demands. The Cistercians appear, however, to have been remiss in their payments, upon which he produced forged letters from them of resignation of their property, and seized upon several of their estates until his needs were satisfied.

There is a tradition current in Monmouthshire that King Edward II. took refuge here when flying from his wife Isabella and her paramour Mortimer. The weak and unfortunate monarch had exasperated the nation by his elevation of, first, Gaveston, and secondly the Despencers, his favourites, to the highest offices of state, who goaded the people into rebellion by their pride, haughtiness, and tyrannical government. He had also quarreled with his queen, who went to France, taking with her her son, Prince Edward, and Mortimer, whence she returned with an army, and made war on her husband. "Whither, in mean space," says Speed, "doth woeful Edward flye? what force, what course, what way takes the poore Prince? O, fearful condition of so great a monarch's state, when a wife, a son, a kingdome are not trusted, and those only are trusted who had nothing strong but a will to live and die with him." Then he narrates how the queen came to Gloucester, and hence to the siege of "Bristow" Castle, held by the elder Despenser, and how "she grew all the while in her strengths like a rowled snowball." He then describes how Edward resolved upon seeking refuge on Lundy Isle, and sailed down the Severn with that intent, or of going to Ireland. As he went along, however, he found his friends gradually falling off, until he found himself almost alone, "like a cliffe which falling from the top of some huge rocke breakes into more pieces the further it rolles." After a week spent at sea he returned and landed in Glamorganshire, "entrusting himself to God and the faith of the Welsh, (who, indeed, still loved him)." He lay concealed in various hiding places, chiefly in the abbey of Neath, for some weeks, wandering from one refuge to another; one of which, it is not at all improbable, would be Tintern, as the De Clares, such as were left of the family, (the main line and the earldoms of Hertford and

Gloucester having become extinct in 1313, thirteen years previously), would be favourable to the king, as Aliafore, eldest daughter of Gilbert de Clare, the Red, seventh Earl of Hertford and third of Gloucester, married Hugh le Despenser, the younger, the king's favourite, who was hanged at Hertford on a gibbet fifty feet high, whilst her father-in-law, the elder Despenser, was hung in sight of the king at Bristol. Margaret, her sister, was the wife of Piers Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall, the king's first and greatest favourite, who was captured in Scarborough Castle by Thomas Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster, and beheaded, without any form of trial, at Warwick, in 1314. She afterwards married Hugh de Audley, second Baron Audley, who succeeded, *jure uxoris*, as Earl of Gloucester.

Another kinsman of the De Clares met with his death in a way that would cause the brethren of Tintern to open their doors readily for the king, to shelter him from the vengeance of "the she-wolf of France." This was Aylmer de Valence, second Earl of Pembroke of that name, who was grandson of Joane, second daughter of William Mareschale, by Isabel, daughter of Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke. This Aylmer de Valence was a notable man in the reign of King Edward II., by whom he was constituted General of the Forces north of the Trent, which office he held at the time of the Earl of Lancaster's insurrection against Gaveston, and in that capacity presided at the trial of the earl at Pontefract, and pronounced sentence of death upon him, which was immediately carried into effect. But "this time-serving and mercenary act of infamy," as it was termed, "was speedily atoned for by his own death," for two years after (1323) he chanced to be in France, in attendance upon Queen Isabella, who, in revenge, caused him to be murdered. As for the unfortunate king, he was captured in Wales, and, as Speed narrates, "delivered, by indenture, to Sir Thomas de Gournay and Sir John Maltrauers, two mercilesse and most unworthy knights. These two instruments of the Diuell, hauing conducted him first to the castle of Corf, then to Bristol, and lastly, in great secresie, and with more villainous despite than it became either knights or the lowdest varlets in the world, to the castle of Barkley, where after many vile deuises, executed upon him in vain, more than barbarously murdered him."

Several members of the De Clare family and their successors were buried in the abbey. There are remains of the monuments of Gilbert, first Earl of Pembroke, the founder's brother, an effigy tomb still extant; of Walter, probably the founder himself; of Anselm Mareschal, fifth and last Earl of Pembroke of that name; and of William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke of that name, of Raglan Castle. A mutilated effigy also was discovered amongst the rubbish on the floor; it was clad in mail, with a shield on the arm, and both legs broken off at the knees; which is popularly said to be that of Richard Strongbow, second Earl of Pembroke, the hero of Ireland; but this is an error, as he was buried in the Chapter House of the abbey of Gloucester, where still may be read this inscription on the wall,—"*Hic jacet Ricardus Strongbow, filius Gilberti Comitis de Pembroke.*" Under a slab, on which had been a brass, was found an entire body, in leather buskins and a coat with buttons, which appeared to be in a perfect state of preservation, but which crumbled to dust on being touched. There are also two tombs, inscribed—the one "*Johannes de Lynus,*" the other "*Henricus de Lancaut,*" but who they were neither history nor tradition tells us. In the orchard to the east of the church—the burial ground of the abbey it may be presumed—have been found several skeletons, without coffins, but with slabs of stone over them, who may have been ordinary monks of the abbey.

Tintern was the parent of two children. In 1139 Roger de Berkeley founded and endowed an abbey at Kingswood, near Bristol, but died before its completion. It was finished by William de Berkeley, his nephew, and furnished with an abbot and a colony of monks from Tintern; it was afterwards removed to Heselden, and thence to Tetbury, the buildings at Kingswood being converted into a cell of Tetbury. A dispute arose between the abbeys of Tintern and Waverley, the latter, as the premier Cistercian abbey in England, claiming the

right of supplying the monks; but the matter was compromised, with the concurrence of Roger de Berkeley and Bernard de St. Walery.

The other was in Ireland. William Mareschale, third Earl of Pembroke, having occasion to visit Ireland, was in imminent peril from a storm at sea, when he made a vow that if God would vouchsafe his deliverance therefrom, he would erect a monastery on the spot where he should first set foot on land. The vessel weathered the storm, and the earl landed at Kinneagh, on the coast of Wexford. There he erected and amply endowed a Cistercian abbey, gave it the name of Tintern, and peopled it from Tintern in Monmouthshire.

Leland, who curtly describes Tintern as "an abbay of white monkes, on the ripe of Wy about a V miles from Chepstow," says in the *Collectanea*:—"There was a Sanctuary graunted to Tinterne, but it hath not been used many a day."



TINTERN ABBEY.

The seal of the abbey, (a mutilated impression of which is pendant from an instrument (6 Henry VIII.) in which the abbot and convent appoint Charles, first Earl of Worcester, and Henry Somerset, Baron Herbert, his son and heir, chief stewards of their manor of Acle, in Norfolk,) represents the Virgin seated in a chair, with the infant Christ unclothed on her knee, under a sculptured arch, and beneath the half figure of an abbot, crozier in hand, and kneeling in prayer. The only portions of the legend remaining are ...RII...BEATE...

Whatever may have been the faults and corruptions of the monasteries, it must be admitted that they were useful in their day and generation as retreats for devoutly-minded men, schools of learning and philosophy, and never-failing fountains of charity for the indigent; and it might have been the wiser plan to have reduced them in number and reformed their rules and regulations, relieving them of a portion of their superabundant wealth, so as to assimilate them more nearly to the stringent rule of poverty as laid down by St. Benedict, than to have cut them down ruthlessly, root and branch, as was done by King Henry. This opinion was held by Archbishop Leighton in the seventeenth century, who said that "it would have been more advisable to have reformed the monasteries than to have suppressed them; and thus to have preserved in close connection with our church a refuge for those who

were weary of the world, or who might have been desirous of secluding themselves from its snares and temptations, and passing their lives in religious meditation and retirement."

Being one of the lesser monasteries, Tintern was suppressed with the first batch in 1536, and the site given, two years afterwards, to Henry Somerset, second Earl of Worcester, steward of the abbey's manor of Acle. At its surrender there were thirteen monks in the house, besides the abbot; and the revenues were estimated at £192 1s. 4d. nett, and £256 11s. 4d. gross.

For nearly two centuries and a half the abbey of Tintern, or what remained of it, after its devastation at the dissolution, appears to have been left by its new owners, the Somersets, to slowly crumble away under the tooth of time. Walls, pillars, and arches fell to the ground;



SOUTH TRANSEPT

monuments and sculptured effigies of the De Clares and Herberts were broken and scattered abroad in fragments, and the stones of the cloisters, the abbot's house, and other portions of the conventual buildings were appropriated to the erection of other structures, or broken up for the repairs of roads; whilst a colony of squatters had located themselves in the grounds, and erected for themselves cottages out of the fallen stones, obtaining a living by importunate begging from visitors. So it remained until 1756, when Henry, fifth Duke of Beaufort, who succeeded to the title in February of that year, in the spirit of a true antiquary, resolved upon putting the ruined church into order, and making it fit for the study of the architect and archaeologist. He restored the defective portions of the fabric; strengthened those which shewed symptoms of decay; cleared out the accumulated *debris* of the interior down to the original level, thus enabling it to be seen in its true and original proportions; removed all the briars and other shrubs and weeds which had sprung up; and spread over the floor a layer

of turf, which has since been kept closely mown, and on which are placed the fallen fragments of the tower, pillars, groinings, sculptures, friezes, sepulchral stones and mutilated statues, in positions where they can be seen and studied.

Although the Duke restored the church to somewhat of its pristine beauty, he does not appear to have cleared away the cottages and other excrescences of the exterior, as Gilpin, writing in 1773, speaks of the "wretched cottages inhabited by a colony of importunate beggars;" one of whom introduced him to what she termed the Monk's Library—her own cottage, "a wretched vault, with floor of earth, yielding to the tread; lighted by a small aperture at the end, with just light enough to reveal the wretchedness within; in one corner of which were a few rags, which served her for a bed." And Archdeacon Coxe, in 1801, speaks of "passing a miserable row of cottages, and forcing our way through a crowd of importunate beggars;" whilst Ireland, in 1799, says, "An able writer has remarked that were the building ever so beautiful, encompassed as it is with shabby houses, it could make no appearance from the river. In this we essentially differ, and present the annexed view in support of our opinion.....The cottages, so far from diminishing the grandeur of the general effect, serve rather, on the contrary, as a scale, and give magnitude to the principal object."

During these two and a half centuries, whilst time had been silently ravaging the church, nature had been at work also, silently and continuously endeavouring to obliterate or hide the devastations thus made, by clothing the walls of the ruin with a graceful vesture of green ivy. Gastineaux thus describes it in 1850:—"To the decorations of art are now superadded the effects produced by time. Some of the windows are wholly obscured by large masses of ivy; others are canopied or the sides partially covered, while the tendrils twine in the tracery of some, creep along the walls, encircle the columns, form natural wreaths round the capitals, or hang down in pendulous tufts from their summits. The numerous mosses and lichens also lend their assistance from the crevices of the stones to furnish those contrasting tints, which tend to give a powerful effect to the appearance of a ruin."

Tintern every year is visited by multitudes of pilgrims, who are attracted thither by the fame of its exquisite architectural beauty, and of the loveliness of the natural scenery in which it is enshrined. The latter never fails in exciting emotions of pleasure, but the abbey itself is generally disappointing at the first sight of the exterior. It is plain in aspect, lacking the more florid ornamentation of a later period: it has lost its chief and noblest feature—the tower—a feature which gives so dignified an appearance to the neighbouring abbey churches of Gloucester, Tewkesbury, and Cirencester; and the four bare and unbroken gables have an ungainly effect. Gilpin says of them:—"A mallet, judiciously used, (but who durst use it?) might be of service in fracturing some of them, particularly those of the cross aisles, which are both disagreeable in themselves and confound the perspective." But a second or third view greatly modifies these first impressions; the eye has become familiarized to the obtrusive gables; is better able to appreciate the proportional symmetry of the building as a whole, and has had time to observe the forms and traceries of the windows and other architectural details, which escape notice at a first, and perhaps hurried view. It comes out, however, with the finest effect, when seen from a spot about a mile down the river, from whence it seems to stand on an eminence, displaying itself with picturesque beauty, and showing to advantage its great ivy-clustered east window, which, with the foliated hills for a background, and the river flowing at its feet, present an entrancing picture of natural and architectural beauty.

There are scarcely any remains of the abbey buildings now left: indeed Grose, in his *Antiquities of England and Wales*, published in 1773, in which he gives a view of the church, says that "nothing remains but that;" but in a subsequent edition (1775) he says:—"In a former plate of the monastery it was said that nothing but the church remained: a second visit to that ruin has convinced the author that this assertion was too general. The small gate leading from the water here shown"—(a view of an arched gateway, with steps to the

river)—“seems to have belonged to the abbey; and at a little distance to the south-south-west are several cottages, evidently once part of its out-offices, though so disguised and patched up as to escape a cursory observer. Adjoining thereto is also a considerable length of ancient wall”—(running along the river side).....“On the whole the monastery is undoubtedly light and elegant, but it wants that gloomy solemnity so essential in religious ruins—those yawning vaults and dreary recesses, which strike the beholder with religious awe, and make him almost shudder at entering them, calling into his mind all the tales of the nursery.”

Whatever opinion may be formed of the exterior of Tintern, there can be but one of the interior, and that is admiration of its graceful outlines, its charming perspective, and the exceeding beauty and finish of its details. There are two colonnades of clustered columns, one running east and west along the nave and choir, the other north and south along the transept, dividing the limbs of the cross into three aisles, and terminated in each limb by a large window, the four corresponding in altitude although differing in tracery,—that at the west end of the nave approaching more nearly the Decorated style than those of the choir and transepts. Springing from these columns are ranges of light and beautifully shaped arches, which supported the clerestory; and at the intersection are four larger and loftier pillars, with arches for the support of the tower, corresponding in line and size with the archivaults of the four large windows. The columns of the nave and transept, and the greater portion of those of the nave, are still standing, and the bases of those which have fallen may still be seen, each one in its place. The outlines of the windows are nearly perfect, although partially obscured by ivy, which contrasts very effectively with the grey stonework, but the tracery has disappeared from all excepting the great west window, which is tolerably complete. The turf-covered floor, on the original level, is strewn with fallen fragments of sculpture, and of broken monuments and sepulchral effigies. About six yards to the north of the western door a flight of steps has been discovered, which is supposed to have been the entrance to the crypt or vaults, but it is closed up by a large stone, and has not been explored beyond.

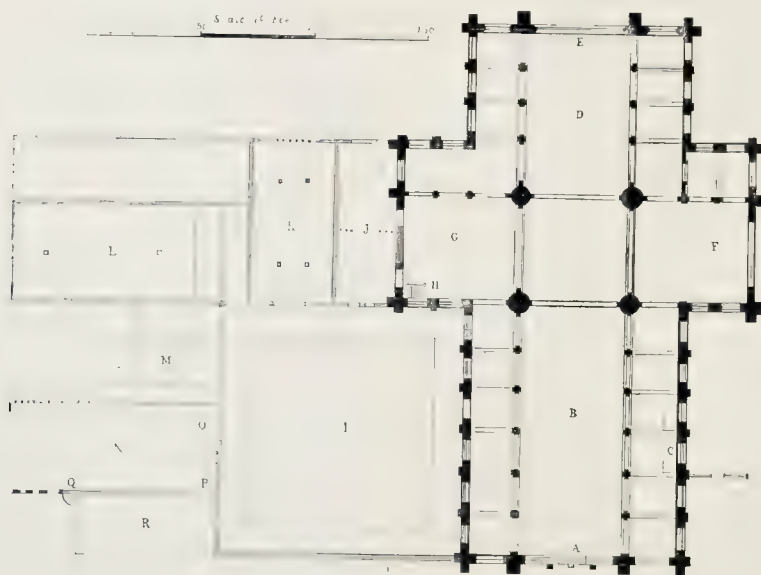
Running from the north door is a wall, formerly covered with a dense mass of ivy, which having been cleared away, has revealed some windows supposed to have been those of the cloisters.

A Roman pavement has been discovered in the vicinity, at least it is so termed, although it may possibly have been a tessellated pavement of the abbey, which has been placed within the church and enclosed within a railing.

No monastery was considered to be complete without a Saint, with the appendant miracles wrought by its relics within its walls, and many a stratagem was resorted to to obtain one, if they lacked this essential, as in the case of Ramsey, who manufactured one out of some bones which were turned up at Slepe (St. Ives), pronounced by a supernatural visitant in a dream to be those of St. Yvo; or in the case of the monks of Ernulphsbury, Huntingdonshire, who stole their saint (St. Neot), sending all the way to Cornwall for his relics, getting possession of them by bribing the shrine keeper, and over which a fight took place between the monks of the two monasteries.

Whether Tintern had a saint we know not, but it can at least boast of a wonderful miracle, performed, however, after the monastery had been dissolved, and had fallen to ruin. It appears that a party of gentlemen made an arrangement to visit the ruins, and dine within the church. The day was gloriously fine, and they seated themselves on the grass, with much merriment and jest on what the old monks would think if they could rise from their graves beneath, and behold them revelling on the spot where they had been wont to walk in procession, barefooted and singing anthems. Scarcely, however, were the corks drawn, when a sudden gloom gathered overhead, and black clouds obscured alike the sun and the blue sky. A vivid flash of lightning darted, as it seemed, into their very midst, and was followed by a peal of thunder which shook the church to its very foundations. The atmosphere grew darker,

a mist enshrouding the walls, columns, and windows, so that they were scarcely discernible, whilst successive flashes of lightning threw around a blue lurid glare, accompanied by thunder, which rolled along the aisles and reverberated from wall to wall. At this moment their attention was drawn to a gleam of light at the entrance to the choir, of a peculiar unearthly radiance. As they gazed upon it, with awe-stricken aspects, it seemed gradually to dilate, but did not increase in brilliance, ever retaining the same dullness, as of moonlight through a mist. As it increased in size, it seemed to assume the semblance of the human shape, but unsubstantial and shadowy, and in a short space of time its outlines became more clearly defined, presenting the appearance of a mail-clad warrior, with visor raised, revealing a pallid and stern countenance, whilst around there came forth, developed from the mist, a crowd of shadowy figures of mitred abbots and cowed monks. The appalled spectators seemed to be rooted to the spots where they were seated, unable to move, whilst the lightning blazed and the thunder pealed almost incessantly. At length there came a pause in the elemental turmoil, when the figure raised his hand and pointed to the doorway with his sword, as an indication for them to be gone, and instantly the defilers of the sanctuary precipitately fled, stumbling over the fallen fragments which lay strewn about. At the same moment a whirlwind came swooping over the church, which caught up the appliances of the feast, swept them up over the walls, and dashed them with violence hither and thither over the hill sides.



GROUND PLAN OF JINTERN ABBEY.

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|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| A. West Doorway. | H. Staircase. | N. Refectory. |
| B. Nave. | I. Cloister Court. | O. Dole. |
| C. Tesselated Pavement. | J. Vestibule and Sacristy. | P. Aperture for serving dishes from the Kitchen. |
| D. Choir. | K. Chapter House. | Q. The Lectern. |
| E. Altar. | L. Hospitalum. | R. Kitchen. |
| F. South Transept. | M. Buildings leading to Dormitories | |
| G. North Transept. | in N. | |



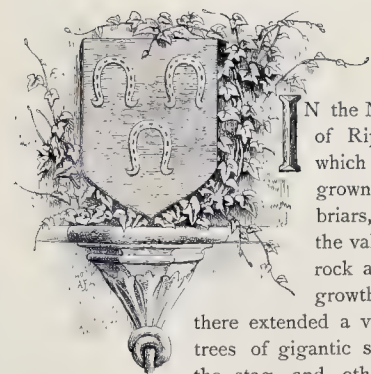






WEST FRONT

The Cistercian Abbey of Fountains.



IN the Norman age there lay, two or three miles south-westward of Ripon, a wildly romantic and secluded valley, through which meandered the little river Skell: it was thickly overgrown with a tangled brushwood of thorns, brambles, and briars, with an interspersing of forest trees. The sides of the valley, sloping upwards, presented many a form of fissured rock and projecting crag, and were clothed with a luxuriant growth of ferns, lichens, and mosses; whilst for miles round there extended a virgin forest, in all the primeval wildness of nature, with trees of gigantic stature, and entirely pathless, save where the wild boar, the stag, and other denizens of woodlands had made for themselves pathways through the dense undergrowth. From the uplands the eye might wander over a vast expanse of landscape, unenclosed by hedges, but adorned by many a clustering group of noble oaks or elms; whilst in the foreground lay the town of Ripon, now recovering from its desolation at the hands of William the Conqueror, with new timber-built and straw-thatched houses rising up, but with its monastery and church still lying a charred heap of ruins in the midst. The churches of Eata, Wilfrid, and Odo had all been destroyed by the ravages of war, and it was not until 1140 that Archbishop Thurstan commenced the erection of the

existing cathedral, which now, with its towers and pinnacles, stands out so finely in the landscape.

In the winter of 1132-3, day after day, a somewhat singular spectacle might be witnessed in Skelldale. There stood in the midst a huge elm tree, the growth of centuries, round whose stem had been constructed a roof covered with straw, and there in the evenings, after a day's toil at wood cutting, might be seen twelve men garbed in the black Benedictine robe, with the cowl drawn over their heads, crouching round a blazing fire of turf and dead branches of trees, over which was suspended a cauldron for the purpose of boiling certain herbs, to constitute, with some stale bread, their frugal supper. The rivulet was ice-bound, the ground was snow-covered, and the wind moaned and rustled, and anon rushed with fierce blasts through the leafless branches of the trees, and sent the drifting snow into the midst of the company. Yet these men heeded not these discomforts, but rather welcomed them as wholesome mortifications of the flesh. They ate their supper, with thanksgiving to Him who had provided it, then sang their even-song, went through a devotional service, and lay down, with shivering frames, to rest, some round the huge trunk of the elm, others under the friendly shelter of a neighbouring group of yews. Burton, in his *Monast. Ebor.*, says, "On the south side of the house, where the abbey stood, about midway in ascending the hill are five or six yew trees, all yet (1757) growing except the largest, which was blown down a few years ago. They are of an almost incredible size, the circumference of the trunk of one of them is at least fourteen feet about a yard from the ground; and are so nigh each other as to make an excellent cover, almost equal to that of a thatched roof. Under these trees we are told, by tradition, the monks resided till they built the monastery, which seems to me to be very probable, if we consider how little a yew tree increases in a year and to what a bulk these are grown. And as the hill-side was covered with wood, which is now almost all cut down except these trees, it seems as if they were left standing to perpetuate the memory of the monks' habitation there during the first winter of their residence."

These twelve, seemingly outcasts from society, were pious, devout men, anxious only for the one thing needful—the salvation of their souls, and desirous of serving God in purity and truth. Eleven of them had been monks in the Benedictine Priory of St. Mary's, York, and one of St. Hilda's, Whitby, and had migrated hither to escape the corruptions which had become encrusted on the Benedictine order. St. Benedict, an Italian, who died in 543, was the founder of the order, which soon spread over Europe, and was established in England *temp.* Edgar, but the rules were not fully observed until the time of the Conquest. In Yorkshire there were three abbeys, at York, Selby, and Whitby, the two former mitred, and several priories. The order produced a great number of eminently learned men, but, as a body, had degenerated sadly from the pristine holiness of the primitive fathers. This gave rise to the Cistercian order, with much stricter rules. It was founded at Cisterium, or Cisteaux, in the Bishopric of Chalons, Burgundy, in 1098, by Robert, late Abbot of Molesine, and was brought into repute by an Englishman, Stephen Harding, the third abbot. But he who made it most popular was St. Bernard, Abbot of Clervaux, in the Bishopric of Langres, *circa* 1116. It was introduced into England in 1128, the first monastery being that of Rievaulx, in Yorkshire, which was built in 1131.

At this period (1132) the monastery of St. Mary's, York, was governed by Abbot Galfrid, a man of imperious temperament, who, caring more for the loaves and fishes of his office, and the maintenance of his dignity than for the moral and religious well-being of the community over which he ruled, suffered the disciplinary rules of the house to fall into a state of laxity, altogether inconsistent with the regulations laid down by St. Benedict, the consequence being that prayers were neglected or slurred over, feasting was substituted for fasting, and immoralities, of a more or less gross nature, were practised by the brethren without reprehension. Richard, the prior, was a man of an altogether different character, assiduous in his duties,

punctual in his devotional exercises, and of an earnest devout mind. With the sub-prior, and some other of the brethren, he lamented the laxity of discipline, and, as far as he dared, remonstrated with his superior on the corruption he permitted to exist, without check, in the house. It was, however, of no avail; the abbot told him to mind his own business, and not interfere with his supreme government, which, he added, he understood perfectly well, and did not require any dictation from a subordinate.

News had reached St. Mary's of the new Cistercian or Bernardine order, and the strictness of the discipline observed by the fraternity, and Prior Richard, with others of the brethren, longed to cast in their lot with them, and live lives more conducive to their souls' health than could be done under Abbot Galfrid. They held consultations together on the subject, and at length determined upon leaving York and forming a community elsewhere. But the abbot positively refused his permission for their departure, seeing that it would be a reflection upon his government, and he gave strict orders to the doorkeepers not to allow them to pass the threshold.

In this emergency the prior wrote to Thurstan, his friend, then Archbishop of York, representing the state of things as they existed in the abbey, and requesting him to make a visitation, for the purpose of rectifying the abuses, and for making arrangements for their withdrawal. The archbishop assented, and proceeded to the abbey, accompanied by "many grave and discreet clergy, canons, and other religious men." He had previously sent a notification to the abbot of his intended visitation, and of the time when he would present himself at the abbey gates, who, to support him in his resistance to the archbishop, and to aid him in subduing the rebellious monks, "had brought together several learned men and a multitude of monks from all parts of England." On the 6th. of October, 1132, Thurstan presented himself at the gates, demanding admittance to the Chapter House, but Galfrid and his army of monks stood there to oppose him, refusing to recognise his authority, upon which high words were bandied to and fro, a violent uproar arose between the respective followers of the archbishop and the abbot, and it is not certain that they did not come to blows. However this may have been, the result was that the abbot was victorious, inasmuch as he kept the enemy outside his gate, and at length Thurstan withdrew, but not until he had formally placed the church and monks under interdict. As for the rebel monks, they, the prior, the sub-prior, and eleven others, contrived in the confusion to escape, went with the archbishop, and were maintained by him in his palace eleven weeks and five days.

The abbot lodged a complaint with the king (Henry I.) against the archbishop for harbouring his runaway monks, and sent a circular letter to the heads of the neighbouring monasteries, detailing their rebellious conduct, and requesting that they might not be sheltered or received into any of their communities. On the other hand, Thurstan sent an epistle to the Apostolic Legate, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, giving a detail of what had taken place, and explaining the motives of the monks in severing themselves from the fraternity of St. Mary's, "where," he said, "they considered they could live no longer with a safe conscience, as not fulfilling the rules of the order." What action, if any, was taken by the king and the legate does not appear, but it is evident that no steps were taken to compel the return of the refractory monks, as Galfrid sent persuasive messages to them, asking them to return, and promising pardon for the past, and a reform of the grievances they complained of for the future, and two were caught by the bait, one of whom, however, repented, and returned to his companions. As for the rest they unhesitatingly refused, and spent their time in Thurstan's palace in fasting, prayer, and mortification.

These twelve monks appear to have been men of great piety, virtue, and learning, as several of them obtained afterwards distinguished positions in the church, and one of them, Robert, the Monk of Whitby, who joined them in their flight from York, afterwards became the famous hermit, St. Robert of Knaresborough.

Archbishop Thurstan spent his Christmas-tide feast that year at Ripon, when chancing to be out one day he came to the valley of the Skell, when it struck him, all at once, that it was precisely the place, fitted, by its seclusion in the depth of a forest unvisited by human beings, for a Cistercian Monastery, and as it happened, with all the surrounding woodland, to be a portion of the patrimony of St. Peter, he determined upon bestowing upon the fugitive monks sufficient space whereon to erect an abbey and church, with all the requisite outbuildings and a garden. On his return to York, he communicated his intention to the monks, who joyfully accepted the donation, and a deed of grant was formally made out, adding to the gift the village of Sutton. Afterwards he augmented the benefaction, in the following deed, the precursor of many hundreds of a similar character, from various donors:—

"Thurstan, by the grace of God Archbishop of York, to the Archbishop of Canterbury and all Bishops, Abbots, Clerks, Barons, and Laymen of all England, and to their successors, greeting. We make known to you all, that we have given in Alms to God and St. Mary of Fountains, and to the Abbot and Monks, part of the wood of Harleshow, according to the boundary which we have pointed out to Richard the first Abbot of the same place; and that we have allowed (or conceded) that portion of land which Wallef son of Archil, our vassal, gave to the same church, which is adjoining the same wood in which we have founded the said church. Moreover we have given to the aforesaid church two carucates of land in wood and open ground in Sutton, except one ploughland, which lies on the east side of the way leading from Ripon to Stainley; and let this be dear to you all, inasmuch as they have professed to live according to the rule of the blessed St. Benedict. All the aforesaid things we have granted in alms aforesaid: quite and free of all land service, due to us and our successors, under these witnesses:—Witness, William the Dean and William the Treasurer, Hugh the Precentor, Osbert the Archdeacon, Walter the Archdeacon, Fulk the Canon, Serlo the Canon, William de Percy, Anfrid the Canon, Archard the Canon, Letold the Canon, and all the Canons of St. Peter. Witnesses also, William Marton, and Robert de Pinkney, and Simon, and Clibert, and Gislebert, Canons of St. Wilfrid. Witness also, William the Steward, and Robert the Constable, and William Unahait, and Richard the Thief-taker, and Hugh son of Hulric, and Robert of Herleshow, and Wallief of Studley, and Richard his brother, and Hulchil the Bailiff."

In the depth of that winter the monks started off, from York, on foot, to take possession of their domain, and after several days of journeying in inclement weather and along rough roads, they came "into this uncouth desert, without any house to shelter them in that winter season or provisions to subsist on, but depended entirely upon Divine Providence." They improvised some rough sort of shelter under the elms and yews, and endured with unflinching energy, and even with cheerfulness, the fierce blasts of the winter's storms. They were supplied with bread by the archbishop, which they ate along with roots and boiled leaves, such as they could get, and slaked their thirst by breaking the ice of the Skell or of the springs with which the valley abounded. The bread, however, owing to the state of the roads, did not come regularly, and they were frequently left without it for days together. It is said that on one occasion a beggar applied for relief when they had but two and a half loaves in their larder, and that Richard, the abbot, gave him one, who, upon a remonstrance from his companions, replied, "Fear not, ye of little faith; the Lord will provide for us," and that same day a cart-load of bread arrived from Knaresborough Castle as a present from Eustace St. John.

Notwithstanding all the privations and sufferings the monks had to endure, in that unsheltered habitation and in the deficiencies of their larder, they at once established a system of regular devotional services, based on the primitive rules of St. Benedict, but denuded of the corruptions which had latterly grown around them, and whatever the state of the weather failed not in the due performance of the ceremonials. They elected Prior Richard as their first abbot, erected a building with wattled sides and thatched roof as

their oratory, and gave their nascent establishment the name of Skelldale Abbey, which it did not retain long, as that name does not appear in any deed or document, being changed soon after to that of Fountains, from the number of springs of pellucid water in the vicinity.

In the spring of 1133 the new fraternity adopted the Cistercian rule in all its severity, and sent a deputation to St. Bernard at Clervaux to inform him of what they had done, and of their wish to submit themselves to his paternal government, asking him to furnish them with instructions for the foundation and regulation of their projected establishment. Thurstan the archbishop also wrote a letter to St. Bernard, a lengthy epistle, which may be seen in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, explaining the cause of their withdrawal from St. Mary's, York, describing the sufferings they had so patiently undergone during the past winter, and extolling their piety and assiduous zeal in the performance of their religious duties under the most discouraging circumstances. The superior of Clervaux received them courteously, listened to their detailed narrative of the facts, and heard approvingly of their desire to lead a more austere life. He detained them some days in the monastery, explained to them the objects and uses of the various buildings and apartments, as well as of the sacred vessels and varied vestments, with their symbolic meanings, and permitted them to take part in all the masses, prayers, and other devotional exercises, and to participate in all the fasts, flagellations, and other mortifications of the flesh, in order that they might return with a full conception of the requirements of the order. The good abbot, when he thought he had instilled into their minds a correct idea of monastic life, as conceived by Abbot Robert of Cisteaux, gave them his blessing, and sent them forth on their return: he also sent along with them a well-informed and experienced monk, named Gregory, to accompany them to Skelldale, and give further advice and instruction in carrying out their views. The abbot entrusted to them a letter to Thurstan, extolling his charity to the outcasts, and another of exhortation to Abbot Galfrid, who had written to him of their insubordination, rebellion, and unholy flight.

In the course of the summer ten priests and laymen cast in their lot with the brethren as novices, nearly doubling the number of mouths to be fed, without any proportionate increase of the means of subsistence. They had then no property excepting the ninety-seven acres in the Skell valley, which had been partially cleared and planted with vegetables and sown with corn in the spring; but these had not yet come to perfection, and they had no means of support excepting the rations of bread sent by the archbishop, and a few early vegetables. The abbot went round the country begging, but the year was one of scarcity, and he usually came home empty handed, so that they were frequently reduced to compulsory fasting, or dining off the leaves of trees, boiled, with a little salt.

Thus passed the summer, and in the autumn they garnered a scanty crop of cereals, utterly insufficient for their wants in the coming winter: yet they murmured not, but trusted in the providence of God for their future supplies. The winter was passed with less discomfort, Gregory of Clervaux having led the way in the construction of a series of wooden huts for habitation. Nevertheless they endured two years of extreme hardships, which were nobly borne, but which at length exhausted even their powers of endurance, sustained though it was by the force of spiritual enthusiasm; and after several consultations they came to the determination of abandoning the inhospitable valley, and sent another deputation to St. Bernard, to ask permission for them to migrate to Clervaux, who gave his consent, arranging to settle them at one of the granges of the abbey. But just at this period, when they were preparing to depart, a change took place in their fortune, which constituted the turning-point in their career, and was the first step in their upward course to wealth, honour, and distinction. "There is a tide in the affairs of" (abbey as well as of) "men, which taken at the flood leads on to fortune." The brethren of Skelldale took advantage of the turn, and instead of becoming an insignificant cell, appendant on the Abbey of Clervaux, their hitherto

modest establishment gradually and rapidly grew into the magnificent Abbey of Fountains, one of the finest and most wealthy in England.

It chanced at this juncture that the rich and learned Hugh, surnamed Sotevagine, Dean of York, was stricken with an incurable malady. Nothing is known of his origin, or of his appointment to the deanery, but he held the office at the death of Archbishop Gerard in 1109. The see of London fell vacant at the same time, to which King Henry I. nominated Thomas, Provost of Beverley, nephew to Thomas of Bayeux, Archbishop of York (1070-1100), but at the suggestion of Dean Hugh he was transferred to York, and the Dean went to Rome for his pallium. Thomas died in 1114, and was succeeded by Thurstan, with whom Hugh lived on terms of most intimate friendship. In 1134, feeling the approach of death, he resigned his office, with a view of ending his days in the retirement of the cloister. Being the friend of Thurstan, he knew all about the monks of Skelldale, sympathised with them in their sufferings, and determined upon casting his lot with them. Accordingly he caused himself to be taken there, and was gladly welcomed, as he made over to the fraternity all his wealth and his valuable library. With the money thus acquired, buildings of a better description were speedily erected, and the brethren gave up their project of emigrating to Clervaux. Hugh spent the remainder of his life in Skelldale in devotional exercises and literary studies. His leisure he devoted to writing the life of Archbishop Thomas, the Second, and of Archbishop Thurstan, the latter still remaining in MS., which ends abruptly on the eve of the Battle of the Standard, at which time (1138) it is supposed the writer died. It may be added that it was at the Battle of the Standard that King David of Scotland suffered so signal a defeat by the army of northmen raised by Thurstan to oppose his invasion, and that the archbishop died the following year.

Soon afterwards Serlo and Tosti, two rich Canons of York, devoted themselves and all their property to the abbey. Sir Richard de Sartis, with his wife Reganilde, bestowed on it their village of Harleshow, some fields and the forest of Warkesall, on condition that they should be buried in the abbey; and about the same time Serlo de Pembroke, on his deathbed, bequeathed his body and with it the village of Caiton, which he held of the king. The brethren now began to find themselves in comfortable circumstances. No more sleeping under trees, with the piercing blasts of winter blowing over them, and no more frugal fare of boiled leaves and stale bread; yet did they not indulge in luxurious living, but lived abstemiously, and kept all the fasts, dispensing, with charitable hands, out of their superfluity to the poor.

The tide having thus turned began to rush in with greater and greater impetus. The fame of the monks for sanctity spread abroad, and the barons, knights, and landed proprietors, deeming it healthful for their souls to secure their prayers, and especially assuring for their welfare in the future world to be buried within the precincts of the monastery, poured in upon them donations of land, by gift or bequest, until eventually the abbey had a domain stretching from Skelldale thirty miles in extent; at least sixty thousand acres in Craven, besides an immense number of separate estates and small parcels of land scattered here and there over Yorkshire and elsewhere. Burton gives a detailed list of these, consisting of more than thirteen hundred donations, occupying sixty folio pages of his *Monast. Ebor.*

The following is a list of places where the greater estates lay:—Ambulay Grange, Eland; the village of Aindery, given by John, Earl of Richmond; Aldeburgh, given by Roger de Mowbray; Aldewarke; Arneforde; Askrigg; Balderby; Birkon; Bardeby; Brembem; Caiton; Caldwell; North Couton; Crossthwaite; Dakre; Disceford; Dromundby; Eston; Fountains; Gulgagh; Grafton, a carucate given by Ralf Mauleverer; Greneberg; Grewelthorpe in Kirkeby-scire; Harleshow; Heaton, or Kirk Heaton; East Holme in Allerdale; Jarnwyk; Kilnesay in Craven; Kirkby-Wysk; Kirkby-Useburn; Little Hage; Litton; Malgham, or Malham; Melmorby; Markingfeld; Merston, or Marston; Multon; Newsam; Pikehill, or Rokesby Pikehill; Qualdrick, or Wheldrake; Quixley, or Whixley; Rymington, or Rainton; Rygton; Ripley; Ripon; Rumore;

Slensingford; Stayneburn; Sutton; Swetton; Tanfield; Threshfield; Walton; Withingtun; Wygglesworth, one of their largest estates; and many houses and parcels of land in the city of York.

Besides these landed estates, the abbot and monks obtained at various times Charters of Privileges and Immunities. In common with all Cistercian communities, they enjoyed exemption from tithes on all the lands cultivated by themselves. Pope Innocent IV. granted a further exemption from tithes on all the wool, lambs, and milk in all the parishes where they fed any sheep, and Pope Alexander IV. exemption from tithes for ever on all land they had at one time held in their own hands, even if let to tenants. King Henry I. granted an exemption from all tolls of passage and poundage, and King Stephen one of exemption from all secular service. King Henry II. granted the right of sac and soc, theam and infangtheof, and exempted them from themanelith, danegelt, and assizes, which was confirmed by Richard I. and Henry III. Edward I. granted a charter of free warren over several of their domains, and Richard II. gave a charter of confirmation and new grants of sac and soc, thol and theam and infangtheof, with courts of all their tenants, consignance of all trespasses and crimes on their lands, assize of bread and ale, the right of nomination and dismissal of bailiffs and servants, with all fines and forfeitures, and all the liberties enjoyed by St. Peter's of York. With exemption from the assizes of County, Riding, or Wapentake, from danegelt, scutage, pontage, pedage, and carriage; from all tolls, repairing castles or clearing fosses, and from stallage and tailage; and giving power to the abbot to forbid the arrest of any criminal within the precincts of the abbey, thus constituting it a species of limited sanctuary. This great and important charter was confirmed by King Henry VI.

Some seventy years after the foundation of the monastery, during which period comparatively humble buildings had sufficed for the wants of the fraternity, the abbots, having ample and increasing funds at their disposal, considered it to be incumbent on them to replace these unpretentious buildings with edifices of a more stately character, and a church worthy of being styled a temple of the Creator of the Universe, commensurate with the dignity of the Cistercian order; and during the succeeding half century there gradually grew up, on the banks of the Skell, in sublime grandeur, adorned by the artistic skill of the sculptor, the wood-carver, the painter, and the metal-worker, that wonderful group of buildings, majestic even now when in ruin.

In process of time, also, were accumulated a vast quantity of images, crosses, sacramental vessels, and other articles of gold and silver plate, fashioned and ornamented by the most skilful artists. At the time of the dissolution such articles belonging to the abbey were estimated at the following values:—

In the church	£519	15s.	5d.
In custody of the abbo: . .	147	13	7½
In the buttery	30	8	7
In the frater	3	3	4
At Brimbem	7	4	10

Making a total of £708 5s. 9½d., which, taking into consideration the difference in the value of money, may be estimated at twenty times that amount of its present value.

Among the items of the catalogue of plate we find:—

- "One piece of St. Anne's scalpe set in silver, ungilt; weight 2½oz.
- One manse, with a rib of St. Lawrence, of silver gilt; weight 44oz.
- The image of St. James, of silver and gilt; weight 64oz.
- One cross of gold, set with stones, wherein is part of the Holy Cross; weight 14oz., valued at £30 2s.
- One mitre, having the edges of silver and gilt, and set with round pieces of silver, white like pearls, and flowered of silver and gilt in midward; weight 12oz."

Although the possessions of the abbey were so great, it held the patronage of but one church, that of Kirkby-Useburn, which it afterwards sold; but it held and had to find officiators of the chapels of Raynington, *alias* Raynton, St. Michael's of the Mount, and Staynburne.



FROM THE SOUTH.

The Abbots of Fountains.

The list of abbots preserved in the archives of the abbey comprehends only thirty-three, six having been omitted as not deserving a place therein, all of whom either resigned or were deposed. These were Maurice of Rievaulx, Thorold of Rievaulx, Peter Alyngs, Henry Ottelay, Robert Thornton, and Roger Frank.

1. RICHARD, 1132—1139. Formerly Prior of St. Mary's, York, and leader of the monks who withdrew from that establishment, and founded the Abbey of Skelldale under the patronage of Archbishop Thurstan. He died at Rome in 1139, whither he had gone with Alberic, the Pope's Legate. During his abbacy the brethren lived at first in the open air, afterwards in rudely built wooden huts.

2. RICHARD, 1139—1143. Buried at Clervaux.

3. HENRY MURDAC, 1143—1146. Murdac, a man of great ability and energy, was one of the most notable abbots of Fountains. He was a native of Yorkshire, but descended from a wealthy family seated at Compton Murdac, in the county of Warwick. He was a friend of Archbishop Thurstan, who gave him preferment in the Cathedral of York, which he resigned soon afterwards at the pressing invitation of St. Bernard to become a monk at Clervaux. After remaining there some time he was sent by his superior to establish a Cistercian House at Vauclair, in the diocese of Leon, of which he became the first abbot in 1131. In 1143, at the recommendation of St. Bernard, he was appointed the successor of Richard 2 in the Abbey of Fountains, where he maintained the rules of the order with rigid severity, enforcing his precepts by example, in living a life of great austerity and constantly wearing sackcloth next to his skin. Under his rule the abbey prospered in piety by strict discipline, and in wealth by many donations and bequests, evidenced by the fact that during that period it threw out not less than seven offshoots, including Kirkstall, Lisa, Meaux, Vaudy, and Woburn. On the death of Archbishop Thurstan, in 1140, the Chapter of York elected Henry de Sully, Abbot of Fecamp, but Pope Lucius II. annulled the election,

as Sully declined giving up his abbacy, which he desired to hold *in commendam*. Thereupon the chapter met again, and chose William Fitzherbert, nephew of King Stephen, and their treasurer, instigated, it was asserted, by court influence. The Cistercians protested against the appointment, as having been obtained by illegal measures, but the archbishop elect went to his uncle at Lincoln, who invested him with the temporalities of the See. He then went to Rome for his pall, but was followed by the Cistercians, who charged him before the Pope with bribery and other illicit means of procuring his election, which Fitzherbert stoutly denied, and the Pope decided that if the Dean of York (Pudsey or Puisnet) would take an oath that he was fairly elected he might be consecrated, and on his return was consecrated by the Bishop of Winchester, the Archbishop of Canterbury refusing to perform the ceremony. Cardinal Hinckman was sent from Rome with his pall, but Pope Lucius dying when he was on his journey, he returned without having delivered it, and the archbishop hastened to Rome to demand it. He found on his arrival, that Eugenius III., a staunch Cistercian, had ascended the Papal throne, and he was again confronted by the Cistercians, headed by Murdac, who reiterated their charges, and were supported by St. Bernard, Abbot of Clervaux. The College of Cardinals were in favour of Fitzherbert, but Eugenius declared against him, and the following year, 1147, he was formally deposed by the Council of Rheims. The Cistercians returned to England with a mandate from the Pope to elect a new archbishop within forty days. On their arrival at York with this missive, the friends of the archbishop were roused to indignation and fury against the Cistercians, and, vowing vengeance against Murdac in particular, went in a body, accompanied by some turbulent spirits, to Fountains, demanding to see the abbot. The gates were closed against them, but they broke them open and rushed in, searching everywhere for the abbot, who, however, had escaped through a secret passage. Baulked in their vengeance, their object being to murder Murdac, they consoled themselves by burning the monastery, which was destroyed entirely, with a portion of the oratory. The same year the Chapter of York met at the monastery of St. Martin, near Richmond, when, after a long debate and an examination of the characters of rival claimants to the Primacy, they elected Murdac, who immediately went on a visit to his friend St. Bernard, at Clervaux, who had promoted his elevation, and hence to the Papal Court, then at Treves, where Eugenius consecrated him and gave him his pall, whilst the deprived Fitzherbert went to reside with the Bishop of Winchester, who treated him with all the honour and deference due to an archbishop, where he remained until the death of Murdac, when he was re-elected to York. On the return of Murdac to England he found the gates of York shut against him, the citizens still favouring Fitzherbert, upon which he retired to Beverley. The king (Stephen) refused to recognise him, sequestered the stalls of York, and imposed a fine on the town of Beverley for harbouring him. In retaliation, Murdac excommunicated Hugh de Puisnet, Treasurer of York, and others of his enemies, and laid the city under interdict. Pudsey in return excommunicated him, and ordered the services to be conducted as usual, in which he was supported by Prince Eustace, son of Stephen. In 1150, however, the archbishop, at the request of the Pope, absolved Pudsey and removed the interdict, and the next year the king was reconciled to him, when he was formally enthroned. About the same time he presented several valuable relics to York Cathedral, and was sent on an embassy to Rome to procure the Pope's recognition of Eustace as the heir of his father to the throne of England. In 1153 Pudsey was elected Bishop of Durham, which gave great offence to Murdac, on account of his character and inexperience, but chiefly because he, as metropolitan of the province, had not been consulted, and he excommunicated the Prior and Archdeacon of Durham, who came to York to implore mercy and absolution. The citizens of York, sympathizing with them, rose in insurrection against their archbishop, who again took refuge at Beverley. The king and his son Eustace implored him to grant them absolution, but he obstinately refused, until the culprits came to Beverley, acknowledged their fault, and submitted to scourging at the entrance to the Minster, when he did absolve them. He died at Beverley in October of the same year.

4. MAURICIUS SOMERSET OF RIEVAUX, 1146: resigned three months afterwards. His name is omitted from the Fountains list, probably because he was considered as being merely the deputy of Murdac. He returned to Rievaulx Abbey.

5. THORALD OF RIEVAUX, 1146, a man of great learning, but displaying an arrogant exercise of power, was commanded, after two years of office, to resign. He also, for some reason or other, is omitted from the monks' list of abbots.

6. RICHARD FASTOLF, 1148—1170. A native of York. A devout and religious man, under whom the abbey increased in wealth, both temporal and spiritual. He had previously been Precentor at Clarvale and Abbot of Valleclare. He died in 1170, and was buried in the Chapter House. Stevens says "he was wonderfully beloved by St. Bernard of Clervaux and Archbishop Murdac, on account of his sanctity of life and eminent learning."

7. ROBERT, 1170—1179. A man of great probity, virtue, and piety, formerly Abbot of Pipewell, during whose abbacy the house increased in possessions and number of monks. He died at Woburn in 1179, and his remains were brought to Fountains, and interred in the Chapter House.

8. WILLIAM, 1179—1190. Another man of eminence for piety and uprightness of life, formerly Canon of Guisborough and Abbot of Newminster, whence he was translated to Fountains, who displayed great soundness of judgment in the government of the monastery. He was buried in the Chapter House.

9. RALPH HAGET, 1190—1203. "Eminent for birth but more for virtue." He also was buried in the Chapter House.

10. JOHN DE EBOR, 1203—1209. Remarkable for his generosity and praiseworthy life, as well as for his good government. During his reign King John extorted from the abbey the sum of twelve hundred marks of silver, to meet the payment of which it was found necessary to sell a portion of the consecrated plate and many of the sacerdotal vestments. It was not however all paid, the king having consented to a compromise. He commenced the erection of the church, the remains of which are still to be seen, by laying the foundations and raising some of the pillars.

11. JOHN DE PHERD, or, as he was afterwards called, DE FONTIBUS, 1209—1219. After the death of Eustachius, Bishop of Ely, Galfridus de Burgo was elected his successor, but before the publication of the election, Richard of York was elected, who held the office five years without consecration, when the Pope annulled both elections in 1219, and nominated Abbot Pherd. He was also Treasurer of England for five years, died in 1225, and was buried before the altar of St. Andrew, in Ely Cathedral. During the ten years of his reign at Fountains he carried on the building works with great vigour.
12. JOHN DE CANTIA, 1220—1246. A Kentish man, raised to the office from that of cellarius, on account of his active vigour, and his regular, well-ordered life. During the long period of his abbacy he was enabled to complete the buildings of the monastery, excepting the tower of the church. He built the east cross aisle, ornamented it with marble pillars, and instituted therein the nine altars, the cloisters and dormitories above, the infirmary, the house for the administration of alms to the poor, and laid down the tessellated pavements. He was buried in the Chapter House.
13. STEPHEN DE ESTON, 1247—1252. He had formerly been cellarius, then Abbot of Salley, afterwards Abbot of Newminster, in Northumberland, whence he was translated to Fountains. He was buried in the Chapter House of Vaudy, or Valle Dei, in the county of Lincoln.
14. WILLIAM DE ALLERTON, 1252—1258. He was interred in the Chapter House.
15. ADAM, 1258—1259. Also buried in the Chapter House.
16. ALEXANDER, 1259—1268. Also buried in the Chapter House.
17. REGINALD, 1268—1274. Buried in the Chapter House.
18. PETER ALYNG, 1275—1279. He was not elected until five months after the death of his predecessor, and was deposed or resigned, but appears to have remained in the house, as, at his death in 1282, he was buried in the Chapter House. His name for some reason or other is ignored in the abbey roll of the abbots.
19. NICHOLAS, July to December, 1279. Buried in the Chapter House.
20. ADAM OF RAVENSWORTH, 1280—1284. Buried in the Chapter House.
21. HENRY DE OTTELEY (OTLEY), 1284—1290. Buried in the doorway of the Chapter House. He resigned, and is not mentioned in the abbey roll.
22. ROBERT THORNTON, 1289. Resigned the same year. His name does not occur in the abbey roll, but in the President Book of the abbey there is an entry under the date of 1306 of his death and burial in the Chapter House.—“Robertus Thornton quondam Abbas de Fontibus. . . . Robertus fuit abbas. . . . per indenturam; rexit monasterium tempore Edwardii primi in capit. de Fontibus sepultus est.”
23. ROBERT BISHOPTON, 1290—1310.
24. WILLIAM RYGTON, 1311—1316. Buried in the Chapter House.
25. WALTER COKEWALD, 1316. Resigned 1336. Buried in the Chapter House, 1338.
26. ROBERT COPPEQ. . . YRIE, or COPGROVE, 1336—1345-6. Buried in the Chapter House.
27. ROBERT MOULTON, or MONKTON, 1346—1369. Buried in the church, before the altar of St. Peter.
28. WILLIAM GOWER, B.D., 1369. Resigned 1384, died 1390. Buried in the middle of the nine altars.
29. ROBERT BURLEY, 1384—1410. Buried in choir.
30. ROGER FRAUNK, styled “the intruder,” 1410. Expelled 1414. His name is omitted from the abbey roll. There appears to have been a controversy as to whether Fraunk or John de Ripon was the duly elected abbot. In the Harleian MSS. 6952, is the following abstract:—“Controversia inter Rog. Fraunk prætendentem se Abbatem de Fontibus et Joh. de Rypon prætendentem Abbatem de Fontibus, post mortem Roberti ultimi Abbatis ejusdem. Rex cepit custodiam dictæ abbatie in manus suas. 14 Dec.”
31. JOHN DE RYPON, 1414—1434-5. Buried in the nave of the church.
32. THOMAS PASSELEW, 1434-5—1442. Resigned in 1442, when stricken by palsy. Died 1443, and was buried in the nave of the church, between the altars of St. Mary and St. Bernard.
33. JOHN MARTYN. Seven weeks in 1442. Buried in the nave of the church.
34. JOHN GRENEWELL, S.T.P., 1442—1471. He was elected Abbot of Vaudy, county of Lincoln, but declined on the ground that it would interfere with his studies, but afterwards accepted the Abbacy of Waverley, whence, after two years, he was translated to Fountains, which he governed for a long period with great reputation for prudence and good government.
35. THOMAS SWINTON, or WYNSTON, 1471—1478, when he resigned.
36. JOHN DARNETON, 1478—1493-4.
37. MARMADUKE HUBY, 1494—1526.
38. WILLIAM THIRSK, or THURST, S.T.B., 1526—1536-7. A native probably of Thirsk, educated at Oxford, where he graduated B.D. 1523. He does not appear to have been of irreproachable character, as he was accused by the monks of “theft and sacrilege, stealing and selling the valuables of the abbey, and wasting the wood, cattle, etc. of the estates,” which charges are confirmed by the report of Layton, the visitor, to Cromwell. He was deposed from the abbacy, and joining the rebellion of Aske, was hanged for treason at Tyburn.
59. MARMADUKE BRADLEY, 1536—1540. Suffragan Bishop of Hull. Surrendered the abbey in 1540, and was granted a pension of £100 per annum out of the revenues.

Many of the monks of Fountains were learned men and scholars, but very few of their writings have come down to posterity.

Hugo de Kirkstead, or Kirkstall, was the historian of the abbey. He flourished at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and was requested by John de Cantia to write the

memorials of the abbey. This he did, either from a manuscript on the origin of the abbey, by Serlo, one of the original monks who came from York, and who lived to a great age, or from reminiscences given to him orally, which he committed to writing. It is given in Leland's *Collectanea*, published by Hearne in 1770-4, under the title of "De Fundatione cænobis Fontanensis, excerpta ex Libro Hugonis Monachi de eadem." Dodsworth and Dugdale, *Monast. Ang.*, give a copy in the original Latin, entitled "Librum de Origine Monasterii de Fontibus, Auctore Hugone, Monacho Kirkstallensis," copied from a MS. in the Arundel Collection, which afterwards was deposited in the Library of the Royal Society. There is also a MS. copy in the Library of Christ Church, Cantab., entitled "Quo Modo Fontanense cænobium sumpsit exordium." It was dedicated to John de Cantia, Abbot 1220—1246. Hugh wrote also a general history of the Cistercians—"Historia rerum a Monachis Cisterciensibus gestarum,"—which Leland saw in the Library of Ripon. He is styled by Leland, "a pious and learned man, who wonderfully delighted in his profession and rule, and was most zealous for the honour of his brethren."

John Serlo, styled "the grammarian," was a monk at Fountains, and formerly a canon of York. Stevens, who says "he was great in body, mind, and wit," speaks of him as Abbot of Fountains, which is evidently a mistake. He flourished about the middle of the twelfth century, and was probably the Serlo from whom Hugh de Kirkstall obtained the materials for the earlier portion of his history of the abbey. He was author of

"De Bello inter Scotiæ Regem et Angliæ Barones."
 "Of the Difference of Words."
 "Of the Death of Sumerlede, King of Man."
 "On the Lord's Prayer."
 "Of Dissyllables."
 "Of Equivocal Words."
 "Of Words that have but one Meaning."

Richard Fastolf, sixth Abbot, was author of "A Book of Homilies," and "A Book of Music or Harmony."

Maurice Somerset, fourth Abbot, educated at Oxford, elected on account of his virtue and erudition, who resigned three months afterwards to have more leisure for study, was author of

"Of the Pontifical Scheme."
 "Epigrams and other Verses."

Stevens states that Archbishop Thurstan wrote a history of the origin of the abbey, but there is no such history extant, and if he did, it is probable that it consisted of but a few memoranda of the events concerning the settlement of the fugitive monks in Skelldale. The Register of the abbey is in the Cottonian Collection, Tiberius c. xii.

The charters and a register of lands belonging to the abbey are in the Library of University College, Oxon.

Another register of the possessions of the abbey, compiled by Marmaduke Huby, thirty-seventh Abbot, is in the Earl of Denbigh's library at Newnham Paddox, in the county of Warwick.

Impressions of Seals discovered in the Ruins.

1. Oval. The figure of an abbot, mitred, and holding a crosier; inscription, "Sigillvm T." Partially broken.
2. Round. The Virgin and Child. Inscribed, "Curia . B . Mariæ . de . Fontibus."
3. Round. A bust of a tonsured monk, with the letter H.
4. Shield. Upon a chevron, five crosses palé between three horse-shoes: two and one.
5. Shield. Three horse-shoes on a chevron.
6. Shield. Three horse-shoes.

7. Round. An angel bearing a shield with a bendlet, and beneath the shield two keys; with the legend, "S. Pierre de Fontaines."
 8. Round. A demi-abbot with nimbus and crosier, and the letter H. A ring seal.
 9. Octangular. A ring seal, with the letters I. H. C. in ancient characters.

The enclosure in which the abbey and its appurtenant buildings stood was nearly one hundred acres in extent, bounded north and south by the richly wooded slopes of the valley, and fenced across it, east and west; with lodges and entrance gates. The Skell ran along the valley leaving a greater breadth of land on the north than on the south, and it was on



NORTH AISLE.

this side that the abbey, the church, and the main buildings stood, some portions being constructed on arches over the river. When complete and in the zenith of its glory the group must have presented a magnificent spectacle, but it was shorn of its grandeur when the ruthless hand of the eighth Henry drove out the abbot and monks, seized the house and estates, and sold them to a London merchant to deal with as he thought fit. The work of spoliation soon began. The lead was taken off the roofs and melted down in furnaces, heated by the broken-up stalls, screens, and other carved woodwork. All the glass was taken out of the windows; the tiled floors torn up; the gravestones broken, and the graves, opened by sacrilegious hands, to search for valuables, and the bones of the dead with the broken fragments of their coffins scattered about as mere rubbish to mingle with other of the debris. In the reign of James I. Sir Stephen Procter, the then possessor, thought proper to build himself a mansion within the enclosure to the north, and made terrible devastation by using the abbey and the church and the abbot's house, which he pulled down to the foundations, as a quarry for materials wherewith to build Fountains Hall. Then came Chancellor Aislabye, a

a century and a half later, who employed a landscape gardener to lay out the grounds, who considered that the ruins might be made, with certain "improvements," an effective feature in the landscape view; and in a barbarous taste set to work to chop off excrescences, pull down what was deemed objectionable to the eye of "taste," and to patch up deficiencies with modern stone-work. Moreover, to obtain a level surface, all the fragments of stone-work scattered about, and all the accumulations of rubbish were gathered together, and spread to the depth of from one to three feet over the floors of the nave, choir, and Lady Chapel of the church, the superfluity being piled up against the exterior walls, thus hiding many a characteristic architectural feature, and lessening the dignified aspect of the interior by reducing the height.

Another century passed away, and the ruins were subjected to no other disastrous influence than the tooth of time, which during the period had been silently performing its task of



NAVE AND SOUTH AISLE.

causing portions of the walls and windows to crumble to decay, whilst nature had been the while employed in adding a new and picturesque feature, by clothing the venerable walls with ivy, when Earl de Grey, the then owner of Studley Royal, with a refined taste and antiquarian zeal, determined upon the restoration of the buildings to the state they were in before Aislabe and his landscape gardener perpetrated their "improvements." In 1854 he caused all the rubbish to be cleared away from the interior and exterior of the church, which brought to light many a hitherto hidden architectural beauty, and restored the nave and choir to their pristine proportional symmetry. He had excavations made in different parts, with great success, laying bare many buried relics of the original architecture, and, most important of all, discovering the foundations of the abbot's house, the site of which was not known. He made also many judicious restorations of decayed portions of the walls, and took measures to arrest the progress of decay, by which means he made the abbey and church a school for the architectural student, an object replete with interest for the antiquary, and a spectacle of beauty for the tourist.

The Church of Fountains, as in all monasteries, formed the most prominent feature of the architectural group, as was befitting the Temple of God. It was cruciform in shape, three hundred and fifty-one feet in length, with nave, western transept, choir, and eastern transept, Lady Chapel, or Chapel of the Nine Altars, the tower rising from the northern extremity of the western transept. The nave was of the transition Norman style, with a circular-headed Norman doorway, and originally a triple Norman window, with probably a catharine-wheel window above, which was replaced by the great western window of Abbot John Darneton, at the end of the fifteenth century, whose rebus appears on it—an eagle with a crosier standing on a tun with a label inscribed "Dern. 1494," the eagle being the symbol of St. John, the christian name of the abbot. The eagle formed a bracket above the window, supporting a niche, with a figure of the virgin and child, which had fallen to the ground, but was found in the rubbish during the excavation, both figures headless, and replaced in the niche by Earl de Grey. A Galilee was afterwards added, fifteen feet in breadth, with a double arcade, running the whole length of the façade. The Galilee was always a favourite place of sepulture, and within that of Fountains were found six graves with handsome slabs—one on the north end very fine, with a sculptured representation of a processional cross, and fixed to the coffin beneath by leaden clamps.

The interior consisted of a centre and side aisles, divided by cylindrical columns twenty-three feet in height and sixteen feet in circumference, without a triforium between them and the clerestory. It was divided into eleven bays separated by pilasters, the eastern half being occupied by chapels, of which remains are still visible on the piers. At the seventh pillars from the west was a screen which supported an organ. The whole was exceedingly plain, and destitute of ornament in the shape of capitals, bases, or sculptured details, but massive, solemn, and awe inspiring.

The transept was a gloomy and cheerless place, one hundred and thirty feet five inches in length, and thirty-two feet in breadth. Although built at the same Norman transition period as the nave, it is on the exterior more purely Norman than the latter. On the eastern side are four chapels: two in the north, dedicated, the one to St. Michael the Archangel, the other to St. Peter; and two in the south, dedication unknown. In St. Peter's Chapel, under a monumental arch, lay the cross-legged effigy of a knight in chain armour, supposed to represent Baron Robert de Mowbray, who died in 1298. In the most southern of the chapels were found remains of a tessellated pavement, and the defaced gravestone of an abbot, supposed to have been Robert Burley, who died in 1410. Two other slabs were found also, one much defaced, but apparently marking the burial-place of "fr'is Joh'is Ryphen," but evidently, from the shape of the letters, of a more recent period than that of the abbot of that name. At the south end of the transept, there were found, on clearing out the rubbish, the bones of not less than four hundred skeletons, which were gathered together and deposited in a grave westward of the church. At the intersection there appears to have been a low tower, the springings of whose supporting arches are still to be seen; it was found, however, after a time, that being too heavy for the pillars and arches on which it was built, it had become insecure and gave indications of falling, and was taken down, and the present superb tower erected instead of it.

The tower stands at the end of the northern transept: it is a fine specimen of the perpendicular style, one hundred and sixty-eight feet six inches in height, and twenty-six feet square at the base. It is supposed to have been erected by Abbot Marmaduke Huby, and, as Walbran observes, "with the exception of the floors of the several chambers, pinnacles, glass, and the tracery of a single window, which fell out many years ago,.....remains as perfect, sound, and stable as when the builders left it; and for anything that appears to the contrary, will rear its noble head above the dell, and defy the storm, when many proud structures of to-day shall be crumbled to their base."



THE TOWER.

Above and below the belfry windows are inscriptions in black letter.

On the east side:

"BENEDICCIO ET CARITAS ET SAPIENCIA ET GRACIARUM ACCIO HONOR.
SOLI DEO I'HU X'PO HONOR ET GL'IA IN S'CLA S'CLOR."

On the north side:

"ET VIRTUS ET FORTITUDO IN SECLA SECULORUM AMEN.
SOLI DEO I'HU X'PO HONOR ET GL'IA IN S'CLA S'CLOR AME'."

On the west side:

"REGI AUTEM SECULORUM IMMORTALI INVISILI.
SOLI DEO I'HU X'PO HONOR ET GL'IA IN S'CLA S'CLOR."

On the south side:

"SOLI DEO HONOR ET GLORIA IN SECULA SECULORUM AMEN."

Intermingled with the words are shields of arms: five of them the bearings of the abbey, ar. three horse-shoes or., two and one; five of Norton of Norton Conyers; and two, a cross flory between a mitre and key erect in chief, and a key erect and mitre in base. And on the west side is an angel bearing a shield, with a mitre enfled with a crosier and the letters M. H., the initials of the builder. There are also figures in niches of a bishop,

presumed to be Archbishop Savage, with crosier; of an abbot with crosier, most probably Huby; and a female figure holding a book and a palm branch.

The choir, ninety-two feet five inches in length, is a continuation of the nave eastward, and of the same breadth as the nave. It is in the Early English style, and is more picturesque and graceful than the nave. Part of the tessellated pavement, laid down by Abbot John de Cantia, may still be seen in front of the high altar, and behind, fragments of the reredos. In the porch was discovered during the excavations a splendid slab of blue marble, with a brass (now reft away) representing the figure of an abbot, mitred, under a canopy, and holding his pastoral staff, presumed to have been placed over the remains of Abbot John Ripon. In the north-west is a stone coffin, said to have been that of Henry, Lord Percy of Alnwick, who died in 1315.



THE CHOIR.

Beyond the choir is the Lady Chapel, or Chapel of the Nine Altars, sometimes called the Sanctum Sanctorum, the work of John de Cantia, abbot, in the Early English style, and forming in appearance an eastern transept. It presents a noble façade of one hundred and fifty feet, with an east window, sixty feet by twenty-three feet four inches, of nine transomed lights, with elaborate tracery, and formerly filled with painted glass. In each gable also, north and south, was a large window, which seem also to have been painted, if, indeed, all the windows of the chapel were not. This chapel was the culminating point of beauty of the church. The nave was exceedingly plain, almost repulsively so; the choir was less so, but still devoid of ornament, although beautiful for its graceful symmetry, but, says Walbran, who made Fountains Abbey the chief study of his life, "On receding to either end of the Lady Chapel, the amplitude of its dimensions, the graceful, aspiring, heavenward tendency of its component parts, must captivate and astonish even a vulgar or careless mind. Not a little of its peculiar effect results from those lofty arches which span it in prolongation of the clerestory of the choir, sustained only by an octagonal pillar, two feet five inches in diameter. But much of the original effect is lost by the destruction of the marble shafts that enriched the angles, and were banded midway in the elevation." It is not known to what particular saints the nine altars were dedicated. Remains of six of them were discovered during the

excavations, but much broken, but not one of the covering slabs. Some alterations had been made by Abbot John Darnton, whose rebus appears on the keystone of the arch of one of the windows, with the legend, "Benedicite fontes domino," and there is a sculptured figure of an angel, holding a scroll inscribed "Anno Domini, 1483."

The Chapter House was situated to the south of the transept, the sacristy intervening. It was a noble apartment, rectangular in shape, eighty-four feet long, east and west, and forty-one feet wide. It had a vaulted roof, supported by ten marble columns, which divided it into three aisles, which have all perished, but the three rows of stone seats, which the monks occupied when in conclave, may still be seen. It did not assimilate in style with any



THE LADY CHAPEL.

portion of the church, and may be attributed, approximately, to the time of Abbot Fastolf, who had previously been Prior of Clervaux, and it may have been planned on the model of the Chapter House of some French abbey. From 1170 to 1345 it was the burial-place of the abbots, where nineteen out of the twenty-one of that interval were interred, the exceptions being Pherd and Eston, who died, the one at Ely and the other in Lincolnshire. During the excavations of 1790, fragments of their grave-slabs were discovered, including those of John de Ebor, the projector, and John de Cantia, the finisher, of the church, that of the latter of grey marble, with the following inscription in Lombardic characters:—"HI: REQUIESCIT: DOMPYS: JOH'S X' ABBAS · DE FONTIBV · QVI · OBIJT · VII KL DECEMBRIS."

Above the Chapter House were the Library and Scriptorium, or Copying-Room; but although many of the abbots were learned men, the monks in general appear to have been more devoted to the ceremonials of religion, and the secular management of their estates, than to literature, at least it would seem so if we may judge from Leland's account of the meagre library which he saw after the dissolution. The approach to these rooms was by steps from the south transept.

Southward, extending to the river, was the Frater House, with groined roof of the transition

Norman period, one hundred and four feet in length by twenty-nine in width, displaying vestiges of Early English ornamentation, and over it perhaps dormitories.

The abbot's house lay on the south-east of the group of buildings, with a passage of communication with the Chapter House. After its destruction by Sir Stephen Procter, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the site had become overgrown with brushwood, and its exact position was not known until the excavations carried out by Earl de Grey revealed the foundations, which gave an exact delineation of the plan. It appears to have been a plain and substantial building, grand in its proportions, and characterised more by its spacious rooms and commodious arrangements than by ornamental details. It was built in a narrow part of the valley, which rendered it necessary to utilise the river space, over which it was



THE CHAPTER HOUSE.

partially built on arched tunnels, three hundred feet in length, through which the water flowed, and standing at a slightly oblique angle to the other buildings. It is supposed to have been the work of John de Cantia, and to have been altered by Abbot Darnton or Huby, who built the refectory, and divided the Abbot's Hall into several separate rooms. The great hall was one hundred and seventy-one feet by seventy; the chapel forty-six feet by twenty-three; the Tudor dining-room forty-six feet by twenty-three; and the kitchen fifty feet by thirty-eight. North of the chapel is a groined room on a lower level, a sort of crypt, in which tradition says the abbot stabled his six white coach horses: most probably it was a store-room or wine-cellar. In the kitchen were two large fire-places and a huge boiler, and a stone grating, with wooden flap-doors, communicating with the river below, possibly a means of getting rid of the kitchen refuse. Near the kitchen was the coal-yard, and hard by a cinder and rubbish heap, in which were found pieces of broken crockery, animals' bones, vast quantities of oyster, cockle, and mussel shells, spoons, rings, and sundry other articles such as are found in modern dust-heaps. The rooms had been paved with encaustic tiles, but only a few were found, the chief part having been removed when the house was destroyed,

excepting one about thirty feet square, which remains nearly complete. The designs of those found are generally of geometrical character; some floral, others with figures of animals, also the arms of the abbey—three horse-shoes, initials, and inscriptions. On one appears "*Soli Deo honor et gloria*," and on another "*Benedicite fontes domino*." Northward of the house were the abbot's garden and orchard, and adjoining them, eastward of the Lady Chapel, was the general burial-ground. Beyond these are foundations of buildings extending eastward some fifteen hundred feet, but it is not known what they were.

The great cloisters, a conspicuous feature in the ruins now, ran southerly from the western end of the nave at a right angle, extending three hundred feet to and across the river, with a breadth of forty-one feet. They are of the Norman transition period, and have a fine groined roof, supported by a central range of nineteen painted pillars. Above and extending throughout was the dormitory, consisting of a central passage, with cells on each side, forty in number, and separated by wooden partitions. At the south end it was lighted by a large

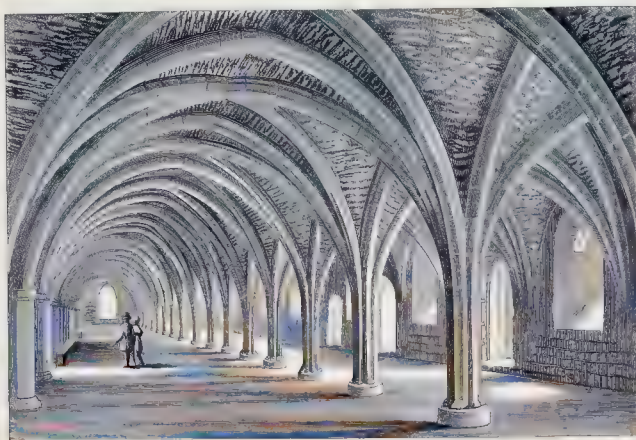


FIG. 1. CLOISTERS.

window, and midway on the west side was the entrance by means of a staircase over the porter's lodge; whilst another flight of steps, on the north, communicated with the church, for the use of the monks in their devotional services by night. The smaller cloisters were to the south of the Chapter House, were also groined, and are supposed to have had dormitories above, probably for the lay members of the community employed in secular and servile work.

Between the nave of the church on the north, the great cloisters on the west, and the Chapter House and small cloisters on the east, was an open quadrangle, one hundred and twenty-eight feet square. Round its sides ran a pent-house roof, the upper portion forming store rooms, whilst the lower formed a school for novices, passages, etc., and in the centre was a lavatory, which was made use of as part of a cider mill by Mr. Messenger when he was the proprietor of Studley. Southward of the quadrangle lay the refectory with its appendant buildings. It was a noble apartment in the Early English style, one hundred and nine feet in length north and south, by forty-six feet and a half, the roof being supported by a central range of four marble pillars. At the upper end was the dais, five feet and a half in width and thirteen inches high, with a cross table and seats, and longitudinal tables on the east and west sides, eighty-nine feet in length. In a recess on the west side

was the reading-desk, where portions of the Scriptures were read aloud during the meals. Adjoining it were the kitchen, vaulted to a central pillar, with two fire-places, each sixteen and a half feet long, with the same depth; the scullery, with a lofty chimney, which fell about the middle of the last century; the buttery, and other requisite apartments. Above the kitchen was the Court House, or Hall of Pleas for the Liberty of Fountains, a fine apartment, groined to a central pillar, forty-two feet six inches by twenty-two feet six inches, where both civil and criminal causes were adjudicated; and near by was the prison, with dungeons, only one of which was lighted, to which were consigned the convicted culprits of the Hall of Pleas, and refractory brethren, whose imprisonment was not of a mild character, as, excepting in the one cell, they were kept in complete darkness, and there have been found relics of chains, staples, and bars, which had been used for the security of the delinquents. A little westward of the great cloister was a chapel with side aisles for the poor, which stood across the Skell on arches. Near to it, but further westward, and standing at an oblique angle, was the Hospitium or Eleemosynary, with vaulted roof, supported by a central range of five pillars; and in the extreme west, near the lodge gate, the infirmary, removed a considerable distance from the general buildings. Close by was a bridge over the Skell, leading to the mill, which stood on the south side of the river.

In a description of Ripon and Fountains, published anonymously in 1801, it is said:—"These monastic remains are deservedly considered the most magnificent and interesting that our country, rich in these venerable works of antiquity, retains from the wreck of the general dissolution. So great was the extent of this magnificent institution, that, when entire, it is said to have occupied nearly twelve acres of ground; and such the ravages it sustained, that the buildings now cover little more than a sixth part of that space; yet with every devastation, it is far more extensive, and incomparably more perfect, than any other. Besides the church, whose beauty and grandeur need no comment, and which are aided by the lofty and nearly perfect tower standing at the end of the north transept, the numerous buildings connected with it, appear in a state of preservation unequalled by any other. No description can bring to the imagination the view presented as you enter the south transept. Europe cannot present its equal, so lofty, light, and elegant is the architecture, and so admirable are the two octagonal pillars which sustain the arches of the Lady Chapel, at a fearful height. Although this is the best point of view, that from the west end of the nave is scarcely inferior, where one looks from a narrow vista, the wide choir having its full effect on the sight; the east window, seen as it deserves, and where the matchless choir transept (the Lady Chapel) closes the scene in splendour."

Henry Jenkins, who lived a century and a half, and died in 1670, was butler to Lord Conyers, of Hornby Castle, during the last days of the abbey, and was wont, at the time of Charles II., to tell of events that he remembered in connection with it. He said that his master and Bradley, the last abbot, were great friends, and drank many a bottle together, and that he was frequently sent with messages to the abbey, on which occasions the abbot, "after the ceremonies had passed," would send him into the visitors' room and order for his dinner "a quarter of a yard of roast beef, and a black jack of strong drink." He said that the country round resounded with lamentations and cries of woe when the abbey fell under the axe of King Henry.

Monasteries, in their early days and middle career, were undoubtedly the great centres of religious life, to which men of devout feelings retired as a shelter from the outward world, where they might, in the peaceful seclusion of the cloister, work out their own salvation by prayer, penance, and asceticism of life, and where they might render service to God by proclaiming the tidings of salvation to the benighted around them, and acquire merit by acts of charity to the poverty-stricken and afflicted. They were also the depositories of all the learning of the ages, when knights and nobles knew not how to read or write, and the

inferior classes were sunk in the depths of ignorance and superstition. The monks were the authors and scholars of the time, and the chroniclers of the passing historical events; wrote histories, biographies, and scientific works, although it is to be lamented that so much of their time was spent in narrating the miracles of their saints; and they collected libraries, having a room called the scriptorium set apart, in which skilful penmen were constantly at work transcribing the works of bygone illustrious writers; in fact it is to them that we are indebted for the preservation of much of the learning of the Greek and Roman ages, which but for them would have been utterly lost in the gulf of the dark ages.

But the canker-worm of wealth found its way into the abbey and the priory, with the usual results. The monks became luxurious, idle, and corrupt; lax in discipline and neglectful of their duties; becoming grossly immoral, and differing only from the laity in their tonsured crowns and monastic vestments.

It was these reports of monkish corruptions which inspired Henry the Eighth with the idea, in his avaricious greed, of suppressing the monasteries of the land, and appropriating their revenues to his own use, or bestowing them on his favourites and flatterers. Accordingly, with an ostentation of justice, he sent forth visitors to make investigations into the government of monastic houses and the lives of the monks, with secret instructions to make their reports as black as possible, that he might appear before the world, not as a robber of the church, but as a reformer of abuses.

Leigh and Layton were the visitors who came to Fountains during the abbacy of William Thirske, one of the most disreputable abbots who ruled the house in this degenerate age. He was accused by the better class of the monks of various crimes, and Layton sent the following report to Cromwell:—"Please your worship to understand that the Abbot of Founteyns hath so greatly dilapidated his house, wasted ye woods, notoriously keeping six whores; and six days before our coming he committed theft and sacrilege, confessing the same; for at midnight he caused his chapleyn to stele the keys of the sexton, and took out a jewel, a cross of gold with stones, one Warren, a goldsmith of the Chepe, was with him in his chambre at the hour, and there they stole out a great emerode, with a rubye, the saide Warren made the abbot believe the rubye was a garnet, and so for that he paid nothing, for the emerode but £20. He sold him also the plate without weight or ounces. Subscribed your poor priest and faithful servant, R. LAYTON."

Although the monkish fraternities had departed widely from their pristine purity of life and severity of rule, and had become almost entirely secularized, there can be no doubt that the reports of the visitors as to the immoralities practised by them and the nuns were in many instances greatly exaggerated; but in the case of Fountains there seems to have been ample grounds for an unfavourable report on the conduct of the abbot. The visitors, in their letter to Cromwell, spoke of him as "a varra fole and a miserable ideote," who seeing how things were going resigned, either of his own will or at the recommendation of the visitors, the abbacy into their hands; and they recommended the appointment of Marmaduke Bradley, or Brodelay, the Suffragan Bishop of Hull, in his place, pronouncing him to be "the wysyste monke within Inglonde of that cote, well lernede, and a welthie fellowe." The ex-abbot, however, was not the man to sit down quietly and submit to the revolutionary measures of the king: he looked with dismay on the suppression of the lesser monasteries, and the deposition of the Pope from the supremacy of England, and joined in the insurrection of the Pilgrims of Grace, under Aske, in 1536, to enforce a restoration of the old state of things. Along with others he received a pardon for this act of rebellion, but the following year (1537) he joined the Settrington, or second Pilgrimage, which was soon suppressed, and he being captured, was carried to London, and hanged at Tyburn as a traitor. Bradley was appointed his successor, but only held the office about two years, when he surrendered the abbey into the hands of the king, by deed enrolled 26th. November, 1539.

An idea may be formed of the vast wealth of the abbey, from the returns made at the dissolution of its possessions, taking into account the difference in the value of money at that time as compared with what it is now. The gross revenue amounted to £1,073 os. 7½*d.* per annum; or nett, after deducting the tenths, etc., to £998 os. 8½*d.* These are according to Dugdale and Speed, but Burton gives £1,125 18s. 1½*d.* as the gross amount. Their plate was valued at nearly £1,000, and their farming stock consisted of two thousand three hundred and fifty-six head of horned cattle, one thousand three hundred and twenty-six sheep, seventy-nine swine, and eighty-six horses. They had in their granges of Sutton, Morker, Swanley, Brimham, and Haddockstones, one hundred and seventeen quarters of wheat, one hundred and thirty-four of oats, twelve of rye, and three hundred and ninety-two loads of hay; also in their home granaries eighteen quarters of wheat, eighteen of rye, two of oats, and ninety of barley for malting.

The following pensions were awarded out of the confiscated revenues:—Marmaduke Bradley, abbot, £100; Thomas Kydde, prior, £8; three monks, £6 13s. 4*d.* each; twenty-seven monks, £6 each.

The king, in order to throw a veil over the robbery, announced, as a preliminary to the suppression of the monastic houses, that their revenues should be applied to the purposes of religion and education, as intended by the donors, and that those of Fountains and of the archdeaconry of Richmond should be appropriated to the foundation and endowment of a Lancashire bishopric. But when he got the houses and estates into his hands he found it convenient to forget his promise, and in October, 1540, sold the site of Fountains, with a great portion of its estates and the franchises pertaining thereto, to Sir Richard Gresham, Knight, the London Merchant, the projector of—and father of Sir William Gresham, the builder of—the Royal Exchange. The Greshams having previously disposed of the Craven estates, in 1597 sold the abbey, with its franchises, some of the granges, and a tract of land, in Nidderdale, to Sir Stephen Procter, Knight, of Warsell. He erected a noble mansion, called Fountains Hall, near the western gate of the abbey enclosure, and to find materials for building it, pulled down the abbot's house to the foundations, and probably the range of offices extending eastward of the church. Sir Stephen paid £4,500 purchase money. In the Harleian MSS. there is a document, No. 6858, fol. 451, without date, relating to its offer for sale, in which occur the following items:—

"There is to be solde the scite of the abbey of Fountaines, and granges thereunto belonging, for £7,000, or near thereabouts, so as speedy payment may be had.

"There is the scite and other grounds in possession woorth per annum £115.

"And withall a very beautifull house, newly built, the like whereof for bewty and good contrivinge is not in the north, the building cost near £3,000, notwithstanding the opportunitie of stone got at hand out of the abbey walls.

"There is orchards and walks well furnyshed with deinty fruits, and the last yere there was such abundance of ripe and goodly grapes hanginge and growinge upon a high rock theire, as I think the north could not have the like."

Then follow specifications of a grange with a good farmer's house and fair slated barn; two other granges with dwelling-houses, barnes, and stables; many fishe-ponds inclosed in a wall; a goodly milne and garners all of hewn stone; "the whole walled about with a highe wall of lime and hewn stone; and muche of the wall standeth good, the rest is fallen downe, but the stone being theire, may be sett up with little chardge, and would be a very pretty parke, the ryver runninge in a valley throughe from one end to the other, besett with woods, plaines, and thicketts very parke-like, and most of it in viewe of the house." Along with it would be sold "a goodly Royaltie of Courts and Commons, Wasts, Wayles, Strayes, and Felons' goods." "It lyeth on one of the best parts of Yorkshire, the title is good, and £25,000 or £28,000 will cleare all the incombrancies that the owner hath clogged it withall,

wherein howsoever some men have thought, yet plaine and Christian dealing shall be found and used herein, and herein the writer engageth himself." "And that this Bergen is richly worthe the price it is shewed thus—". After which follows a calculation of the values of the respective items, and the signature of "Yours assuredly, J. Wh.," possibly Whittingham or Wharton, as it was held in the third decade of the seventeenth century by families of those names.

In 1623 Lady Procter, the widow of Sir Stephen, sold the property to Sir Timothy Whittingham, from whom it passed, two years afterwards, to Humphrey Wharton, of Gillingwood, and he sold it in 1627 to Richard Ewens, of South Cowton, who dying without male issue, his daughter and heiress carried it to the Messenger family of Newsham. They resided at Fountains Hall about a century and a half, until John Michael Messenger sold the abbey and its franchises, with an estate, to William Aislabie, of Studley, for £18,000, when the abbey and Skell Dale became incorporated with the domain of Studley Royal.

The Aislabies were Lords of the Manor of Hutton Conyers, of whom was George, Assistant Registrar of the Ecclesiastical Court of York, who died in 1674. He married the daughter of Sir John Mallorie, Knight, of Studley, an eminent Royalist officer in the Civil War, and through her obtained the Studley estates. With other issue, he had a daughter Mary, who in 1679 married Sir William Robinson, first Baronet, Lord Mayor of York, from which marriage descended the Barons Grantham, Earls de Grey, Earls of Ripon, and the present Marquis of Ripon, who now holds Studley in right of that descent. The Right Honourable John Aislabie, his son, born 1671, died 1742, was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and became notorious as one of the Directors of the South Sea Company, and one of the promoters of the swindling transactions connected therewith, for which he was expelled from the House of Commons, committed to the Tower, and his estates seized. On his enforced retirement into private life, he employed himself, with the aid of Fisher, the landscape gardener, in laying out and improving the grounds of Studley, and decorating them with temples, obelisks, statues, vases, etc., making them by means of the undulating surface, the streams of water, the rocks, and the grand old trees, a perfect paradise of surpassing beauty. With two sons and three daughters, who predeceased him, he had two daughters, coheiresses—Elizabeth, who married Charles Allanson, of Bramham Biggin, and Anne, who married William Lawrence, to whom Studley passed jointly, and on the death of Mrs. Allanson, without issue, in 1808, to Mrs. Lawrence, her niece, who, at her death, in 1845, devised the estate to Thomas Philip, second Earl de Grey, descended from Mary Aislabie, from whom it passed at his death, in 1859, to his nephew, the present Marquis of Ripon.

There have been many men of eminence connected with the abbey, men of piety and learning, and others worthy of commendation for the prudence and judgment which they displayed in their official capacities. There was one, however, who seems to have been neither pious nor learned, nor of monk-like character, who deserves to be mentioned as a hero of ballad romance—"The Curtall Friar of Fountains." There are differences of opinion as to the meaning of the word curtall. Stukely supposes it to mean a cordalier, so called from the cord which they kept coiled round their waists for the purpose of self-flagellation; others that it was derived from the curtailed robes worn by the friars as distinguished from the longer gowns of the monks; whilst Riston associates it with the dogs (*curs*) which this friar had under his charge. He was however not a friar at all, unless he had been one previously, and was employed in a lay capacity by the abbot. He was attired in a species of armour, with a steel cap, and had a sword and buckler, which is not the dress of either friar or monk, and he had the dogs of the abbey under his command—hunting dogs most probably, as the abbots had free warren over several of their estates, which, combined with his skill in shooting the arrow, would give the idea of his being the huntsman and dog-keeper of the abbey. However that may be, he was wandering one day on the banks of the Skell, to the eastward

of the abbey, when he had an adventure with Robin Hood, "the outlaw bold," which is immortalized in the ballad-lore which has grown up in connection with the life and career of Robin, and gives so quaint and humorous a picture of forest life six hundred years ago.



GROUND PLAN OF THE ABBEY OF FOUNTAINS.

A. West Entrance.
B. The Nave of the Conventual Church.
C. The Choir.
D. The Lady Chapel.
E. The Tower.
F. Transeptal Chapels.
G. North and South Transepts.
H. Chapter House.
I. Cloister Court.

J. Domus conversorum.
K. Buttery.
L. Refectory.
M. Kitchen.
N. Kitchen appurtenances.
O. Closet.
P. Fraternity.
Q. Staircase.
R. Passage.

S. Passage.
T. Base Court.
U. Prisons.
V. Cellar.
W. Buildings, the use of uncertain.
X. Infirmary.
Y. Gardrobes.
Z. Abbot's Buildings.





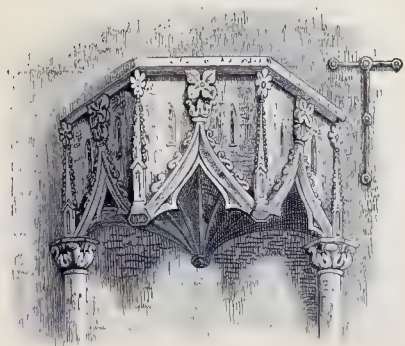
MELROSE ABBEY





FROM THE SOUTH.

The Cistercian Abbey of Melrose.



THE Northumbrian kingdom of Eadwine, the first Christian king north of the Humber, extended from sea to sea, and from the Humber to the Forth. On the banks of the latter river he built a fort, round which a population gathered and came to be called Eadwine's-burgh, which has since expanded into the city of Edinburgh. He was the patron of Paulinus, "the Apostle of the North," and established the Christian religion in his dominions. Penda, the Pagan King of Mercia, an ardent devotee of the old Saxon faith, vowed to exterminate the nascent Christianity which the Roman missionaries were introducing into the island, and, in conjunction with Cadwallon, a

Welsh prince, invaded Northumbria, defeated Eadwine (who was slain) in a battle, ravaged the kingdom, and Cadwallon remained as ruler of the land.

In the year 617 Æthelfrid, King of Bernicia, was slain in battle by Redwald, King of the East Angles, in favour of Eadwine, who thus became king of the whole of Northumbria.

Æthelfrid had several sons, who fled to Scotland, and were educated in the principles of the primitive British Christianity under the Culdees—the monks of Iona. Osric and Eanfrid, two of his elder sons, remained behind, and assumed, the one the crown of Deira and the other that of Bernicia. Conjointly they besieged Cadwallon in York, where Osric was slain and Eanfrid put to death. Oswald, their younger brother, remained in Scotland until he was twenty years of age, when he invaded Northumbria, with a cross carried before him, and slew Cadwallon in the battle of Deniseburn, near Hexham. Attributing his victory to the interposition of God, he resolved upon re-establishing Christianity, and with that view sent to Iona for missionaries to come and inculcate its principles in his dominions; and at his invitation a body of monks and priests arrived, with Aidan at their head, whom he made Bishop of Lindisfarne; completed the church commenced by Eadwine at York; founded the magnificent monastery of Lindisfarne, and promoted the building of many other religious houses, of which probably Melrose was one. It was established by Aidan, and may possibly have rather been one of the twelve abbeys and religious houses founded by Oswy, his brother, who succeeded him.

Whilst engaged in these pious works intelligence was brought that Penda was preparing a new expedition against Northumbria, to utterly stamp out the new-born Christianity; upon which he anticipated the invasion of his own kingdom by entering that of his enemy, and met him in battle, where he suffered defeat and was slain, at a place named, in remembrance of his death, Oswestry. Penda then entered Northumbria, but was bought off by Oswy, who had succeeded his brother. Notwithstanding that, and some intermarriages between the two families, the old Pagan king, then eighty years of age, again marched into Northumbria, but was met at Widwinfield, near Leeds, by Oswy, by whom he was defeated and slain, along with thirty of his chiefs, and the greater part of his Mercian army cut to pieces. Oswy, in gratitude for this victory, founded the abbey of Streoneshalh (Whitby), and afterwards several others.

At the time when Aidan became Bishop of Lindisfarne, the northern portion of the kingdom of Northumbria was exposed to the predatory attacks of the ferocious tribes of the Picts and Scots, who, finding but scant means of subsistence on their bare mountain sides and heather-clad moors, were wont to cross the borders, and carry off anything they could lay their hands upon in the way of plunder, hesitating not, if they were resisted, in massacring the people and burning their dwellings. It therefore behoved Aidan, who desired to place a Christian community in this benighted portion of Northumbria, to find some spot where the monks could worship God with some feeling of security, and from whence they might go forth to civilize and evangelize the surrounding worshippers of Woden. Such a place he found on a peninsula formed by a bend of the river Tweed, about two miles from the present Melrose. It was on the south side of the river, and was protected by it on three sides, whilst the fourth could be guarded by earthworks or a barricade of trees. On this peninsula he built his monastery, which was called Mailros, or Mul-Rhoss, from the Celtic, signifying a bare promontory. Besides any barricades that might be constructed, it was further protected on the open side by some high precipitous banks clothed with shrubs and overhanging trees, and was built on an eminence which commanded a view over the river to the north, so as to enable the monks to maintain a vigilant outlook for the approach of marauders. It must not be supposed that the monastery bore any semblance in stateliness to its successor. It would most probably, like all Saxon buildings of that date, be built of rough-hewn timber, through whose interstices the winter wind found ready access to the interior, with roof of thatched reeds, and within but few appliances of comfort.

Nevertheless it became a nursery of saintly and learned men, "not less famous for their zeal in conversion than for their learning. That holy fervour which characterised the early Saxon church was here especially exemplified. The monks were meek and energetic, simple,

and laborious.....So long as they continued untrammelled with foreign rituals, and untainted by southern priestcraft, their career was remarkably pure and apostolic."

Aidan placed at the head of the community Eata, one of his Saxon converts, an eminently pious man, afterwards Abbot of Lindisfarne, and founder of the monastery at Ripon. He was succeeded by Boisil, or Boswell, whose name is perpetuated in the neighbouring village of St. Boswell's, who, Bede says, "was distinguished for his virtues and a prophetic spirit." He was tutor of St. Cuthbert, who became one of the most zealous of the itinerating apostles of the north, and died in 643. Cuthbert had removed to Ripon, and was a monk there when the great tonsure and Easter questions were settled at the Whitby synod, and not satisfied with the decision, returned to Mailros, and was for a time abbot.

Another eminent saint connected with the abbey was Drythelme, a visionary dreamer, who died one evening and came to life again the following morning, having in the interval, under angelic guidance, visited, like Dante, purgatory and hell, and been brought to the gate of heaven, so as to get a glimpse of its glory, but was not allowed to enter. On parting, the angel enforced upon him the necessity and efficacy of praying, fasting, and almsgiving, which he expounded to his brethren. After his resurrection he imposed upon himself the most rigorous penances. In the depth of winter he daily plunged into the river, and allowed his garments to dry on his body, and when remonstrated with replied, "I have seen greater cold than that." In regard to other austerities, when his brethren wondered how he could endure them and live, he would reply, "I have seen greater than these," "For he was a man of much simplicity and indifferent wit."

In 839 the buildings were burnt to the ground by Kenneth II., in an invasion of Northumbria; they were afterwards partially repaired, but the incursions of the Danes prevented their complete restoration. In 875 it was one of the resting-places of the body of St. Cuthbert, when the monks of Lindisfarne were carrying it about to save it from sacrilegious outrage at the hands of the Danes, and from Melrose it floated miraculously down the river to Tillmouth.

Subsequently a small body of monks from Girwy resided here temporarily, amongst whom was Turgot, the confessor and writer of the life of Margaret, Queen of Malcolm III. Although the buildings were a mere mass of ruins, and the surroundings desolate and dreary, they were pleased with the seclusion of the place, and settled down as a religious fraternity, but being without any endowment the community gradually dwindled away, until at length it came to be a mere chapel, dedicated to St. Cuthbert, and a dependency of the priory at Durham, and as such it remained until the uprising of New Melrose.

The chapel became famous as a resort for pilgrims. In the thirteenth century there resided within its walls a monk or hermit of extravagant notions, who for twenty years never lay on a bed, but spent his nights prostrate before the altar of the Virgin, and his days in dispensing blessings and alms to the crowds of people who visited him, amongst whom were King Alexander II., and many nobles of his court, attracted by his wonderful piety.

The chapel was burned by the English in the reign of King Robert I., and the Bishop of Galloway granted a relaxation of penance to all contributors to its re-edification. In later times a stone wall was built across the peninsula for its defence, the foundations of which were laid bare in 1730. The place where the chapel stood is now called Chapel Knowe, and the site of the old monastery is occupied by a modern villa.

A mile westward was another monastic establishment, in more modern times called Red-Abbey-Stead, presumed to have belonged to the Templars, where extensive foundations have been discovered in ploughing, and where great quantities of leaden seals have been turned up.

In the beginning of the twelfth century the Culdean monastery of Mailros lay in ruins, represented only by the chapel of St. Cuthbert. At that time the throne of Scotland was occupied by Alexander I., son of Malcolm III., by the Saxon Margaret, sister of Eadger the Atheling, of the royal race of Wessex. He died in 1124, and was succeeded by his younger

brother, David I., the founder of New Melrose. David inherited his mother's piety, and was a peaceful monarch, under whose rule the agriculture and commerce of his kingdom made considerable progress, his only war having been with England, in favour of the Empress Maud, in 1138, when he was signally defeated at the Battle of the Standard near Northallerton, in Yorkshire. He was found dead in bed, in 1153, with his hands clasped as in prayer. He was a great promoter of ecclesiastical reforms both amongst the Regulars and Seculars, and desired the establishment of monasteries in his kingdom, on a larger scale than those of Culdean foundation, and subjected to the rules of the Romish orders. At this time the Cistercian or reformed Benedictine order had been introduced into England about ten years, and in the Yorkshire abbey of Rievaulx, the first of the order built in the north of England, he had an opportunity of witnessing the greater piety and more rigid submission to the



FROM THE EAST.

primitive rules of St. Benedict, of the brethren than of those in the old Benedictine monasteries, and he came to the determination of establishing an abbey in the neighbourhood of Roxburgh, his usual place of residence, based on the principles of the new Cistercian order. This was in 1136, two years before his death; and although he did not live to see its completion, he saw the foundations laid, and the up'rising of the buildings, and he placed it on a sure basis by munificent endowments.

He chose as the site the neighbourhood of the old sacred spot where stood the Culdean Mailros, about two miles distant, and eight from Jedburgh, dedicating it to St. Mary, and giving it the old name of Mailros. The place where it was planted was surrounded by mountains, "as was Jerusalem of old;" and between it and old Mailros lay a large wood of oaks, and by the wayside a venerated cross, called Prior-wood Cross. He endowed it, by charter, with lands at Melrose, Eldun of Dernewic, Galtownside, Galtownside-haugh, and Galtownside-wood, with rights in the forests of Selkirk and Traquair, and other privileges and franchises, which with subsequent grants made it the richest monastery in Scotland, and eventually the finest ecclesiastical building in the kingdom. It was colonized by a body of

monks, with an abbot at their head, from Rievaulx, and ever after remained in subjection to its mother abbey in Yorkshire.

Lying on the marches between the two kingdoms, it was built with great strength, to resist the attacks of marauders, yet was it subject to many a scene of pillage and desolation, but it ever remained a centre of light, civilization, religion, and learning to the people around, of whom it was said that they "were wiser, and in worldly circumstances better than they had hitherto been; and while wars and rumours of wars disturbed the state, the wisdom, and wealth, and learning of the ecclesiastics kept steady a throne which the dissensions of warlike chiefs only tended to overturn."

As Melrose was the child of Rievaulx, so did it in turn become the parent of many children, indeed all the Cistercian monasteries in Scotland looked up to it as the mother



INTERIOR, LOOKING EAST.

abbey. Glenluce, or Vallis-Lucis, in Galloway, Newbottle in Midlothian, Kinloss in Morayshire, Cupar in Angus, Dundrenan in Galloway, Balmerinnoch in Fife, and some others, were all colonized from Melrose, and the abbots of that monastery had a voice and vote in the election of their several heads. Machlyne, in Kyle, Ayrshire, was a cell of Melrose, said to have been founded by King David I., but more probably it owed its origin to one of the Stuart kings.

After the death of King David, the monastery continued to bask in the sunshine of royal favour. Alexander II., although he preferred the Benedictines, made a grant of the forest of Ettrick; Robert Bruce enriched it with many donations; and the Stuarts, both before and after their succession to the crown, were most munificent benefactors. Nor were the nobles, bishops, and landed proprietors backward in following the royal example, but showered wealth upon the community, amongst whom were Richard de Moreville, High Constable of Scotland, who granted a park; Dunbar, Earl of March, lands in the Merse and East Lothian; Hugh Gifford, Lord Tester, the Monklands of Tester; and William, first Earl of Douglas, the patronage of the church of Cavers.

In many cases, when monasteries have been established, the erection of the church has been postponed for twenty, fifty, or a hundred years, through lack of funds, and a temporary chantry made use of in the interval; but there seems to have been no deficiency of resources at Melrose, as the church was commenced at the same time as the monastic buildings, and completed in ten years, having been opened with great pomp and solemnity in 1146.

Of the early history of the abbey we possess a trustworthy account in the *Chronica de Mailros*, published by the Bannatyne Club in 1835, of which a translation is given by the Rev. G. Stevenson in the *Church of England Historians*, vol. iv., but unfortunately it does not extend beyond the year 1273. It consists of the annals of the abbey, incidental notices of other Scottish Cistercian abbeys, and of that of Rievaulx, interspersed with events of Scottish history in general, and of that of England in relation to Border raids and invasions of the country. This is preceded by a compilation from the older chroniclers of events in general history, from the death of Bede to the foundation of the abbey, when the chronicle was commenced. In an introduction the compiler writes:—"After that very truthful and most excellent Doctor, the Venerable Bede, the honour and glory of our nation,"—(it would appear from this form of expression that the compiler was one of the monks from Rievaulx, and Bede's countryman,)—"had ceased to write, none others have occurred, as far as we can discover, who have narrated events with accuracy, or in a continuous narrative; or who have devoted themselves, with due diligence to the recital of occurrences by years and seasons, so as to instruct the ignorance of us who have succeeded them, and successfully to remove the difficulties incident to the time in which we live. Pursuing this, we have bestowed some little trouble, as much indeed as our inertness will permit us to do, and our ability extends, upon a diligent investigation into the truth of these matters. Taking upon ourselves, therefore, to run over, with all brevity, the succession of events from those three years with which the aforesaid Venerable Bede, the priest and monk of the monastery of Jarrow or Wearmouth, concludes his narrative, we shall commence with the very words of the historian himself, which, as it is well known, are as follows," etc.

The chronicle gives the succession of the first twenty abbots, down to the installation of Patrick of Selkirk in 1273, and then entirely ceases. Of the subsequent abbots we have only incidental notices of a few, the names of some having been lost. The cause of the cessation was doubtless the disturbed state of the Borders and the passage across of the troops of Kings Edward I. and II., to enforce the submission of the Scottish crown to that of England, at which times the abbots and monks would be too much occupied in protecting their lives and possessions to leave them leisure for chronicling events of history. In the year 1322 the abbey was completely destroyed by Edward II. of England, and the monks left without a home, many of whom indeed were massacred. Fortunate it was that the chronicle escaped destruction, but it was of no value to the plunderers, and, in consequence, was left behind, whilst the plate, vestments, money, stores of grain, and cattle were carried off.

Abbots.

1. RICHARD OF RIEVAULX, 1136—1148. A man of great learning and piety, but of quick temper and a harsh governor, which made him unpopular with the monks, who at length complained of his cruelty to his superior, William, Abbot of Rievaulx, and he was deposed. He retired to Clervaux, and died in 1149.

2. ST. WALTHEOF, or WALDEVE, 1148—1159. This eminent Saint was the younger son of Simon de St. Liz, Earl of Northampton, by Matilda, daughter of Waltheof, Earl of Northumbria, who was beheaded by William the Conqueror on a frivolous plea of treason, but really because he was too influential and powerful for a noble. His mother, Matilda, married, secondly, David, Prince of Cumberland, who succeeded his brother, Alexander I., to the throne of Scotland, and was the founder of Melrose Abbey. He was brought up at the Scottish court, and educated along with his brother Simon, Prince Henry, and Ailred, a protégé of Queen Matilda, afterwards Abbot of Rievaulx, and biographer of King David and Queen Matilda. Whilst Simon addicted himself solely to military exercises and sport, the boy Waltheof spent his time in prayer, fasting, and study, with his companion Ailred. Seeing the bent of his mind, his stepfather advised him to enter the church as a secular priest, promising him high advancement, but he

declined the proffered honours, and declared his intention of assuming the cowl. With this view he entered himself as a novice of the Augustinian Priory of Nostal, in Yorkshire, in due time became a canon, and was appointed Sacristan. He was then chosen Prior of Kirkham, near Malton, where he was much beloved, although he enforced a strict observance of the rules. The discipline, however, was not sufficiently strict for him, and he resigned, betaking himself to the new Cistercian Abbey of Warden, in Bedfordshire, whence he removed to Rievaulx, in Yorkshire, and gained great fame for his austerity of life. He remained there until 1148, when he was called upon to preside over his stepfather's abbey of Melrose, which he governed with great wisdom and piety for eleven years. His life was written by Joceline, Bishop of Glasgow, formerly a monk of Furness, and Abbot and benefactor of Melrose, who gave some marvellous accounts of his miracles. On one occasion, when there was a famine in the land, and the monastery had scarcely sufficient grain to last them till the coming harvest, four thousand starving wretches came to the doors clamouring for food, when he gave orders for them to be supplied from two granaries, one of wheat, the other of barley, which lasted for their support until a fresh supply came with the harvest. At another time he had a personal encounter with Satan, who came when he was praying alone in the church, and assumed "a variety of antic shapes" to disturb him in his devotions. He at first attempted to repulse him by the sign of the cross, which was of no avail, but when the fiend assumed the form of a giant cased in armour, with spear in hand and breathing fire, he advanced upon him with the pix, exclaiming "Behold thy God!" at the sight of which he immediately vanished in a cloud of sulphurous smoke. He had also a vision, palpable and real, of the Virgin with the Child Jesus on her knee, and another of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection. A letter came to him one day from Heaven, which ran thus: "Jesus Christ and Mary his mother greet thee, beloved Waldeve. Know that thy prayer is heard; and between the two feasts of St. John the Baptist thou shalt come to us to live for ever; prepare thyself. Farewell." And he died at the appointed time, and was buried in the Chapter House. He was author of "*De Claustris Bono*," "*Evangeliorum Flores*," "*Sanctorum plurium vitæ*," "*Commentarium in Regulam Ecclesiasticam*."

3. WILLIAM, 1159—1170, a harsh and austere man, chosen from the ranks. He was incredulous about the miracles of Waltheof, and thus rendered himself very unpopular with the fraternity. He caused the gates to be shut against the crowds of infirm and sick people who came to be cured, by praying at the saint's tomb and disturbing the tranquillity of the house. The monks, with Joceline the prior at their head, appealed to Sylvanus, Abbot of Rievaulx, who enjoined upon him a less harsh rule, and permission to the poor people to visit the tomb, whereupon he resigned in disgust, and retired to Rievaulx, where he died in 1185. He was author of "*In Cantica Salamonis*," "*De Officio Monachi*," "*Ad Joannem Cardinalem, Scotiæ et Hiberniæ Legatum*."

4. JOCELYNE, 1170—1174, owed his elevation to his vindication of the miracles of Waltheof against the incredulity of his predecessor, and he resolved upon demonstrating, by ocular proof, their truth. It was at that time believed that the bodies of saints who were immediately admitted to Heaven were not subject to decay, and in conjunction with Ingelram, Bishop of Glasgow, and others, he caused the grave of Waltheof to be opened, when, it was reported, that the body was found as fresh and perfect as when laid there some twelve years previously. He established a house of entertainment on the banks of the Teviot for pilgrims to Melrose. In 1174 he was consecrated Bishop of Glasgow, commenced the rebuilding of the cathedral in 1180, and died in 1199. Author of "*De Translatione Augustini Anglorum Apostoli*."

5. LAWRENCE, 1175—1178, a monk of the house, formerly abbot of a monastery in the Orkneys. "A man of great meekness, and a learned divine."

6. ERNALD, 1179—1189. During his abbacy occurred two disputes respecting rights of property, the one in 1180 with Richard de Moreve, the other in 1184 with the inhabitants of Wedale. With Osbert, Abbot of Kelso, he went to Rome in 1182, on the king's affairs, relative to the removal of an interdict, and "having, by God's help, cautiously and prudently accomplished their mission, they returned hale and happy to their homes," bringing with them from Pope Lucius III. a golden rose for the king, and the paternal blessing. In 1189 he was promoted to the abbacy of Rievaulx.

7. REINER, 1189—1194, formerly a monk of Melrose, afterwards Abbot of Kinloss, whence he was advanced to Melrose, but five years after "humbly resigned under his seal the pastoral charge of his abbey to Ernauld of Rievaulx, and again became Abbot of Kinloss."

8. RADULPH, 1194—1202, translated from Kinloss, a man of great learning, who entertained John de Salerno, the Legate of Pope Innocent III. at Melrose, and went with him to Ireland, where he was made Bishop of Down by the Legate, and died in 1233. He was author of "*Actæ Concilii Perthani*," "*Ad Suos Melrosiensis*," "*Epistola ad Jannem Legatum*."

9. WILLIAM, 1202—1206, formerly Master of the Novices at Melrose, and Abbot of Cupar, 1200—1202.

10. PATRICK, 1206—1207, Sub-Prior of Melrose.

11. ADAM, 1207—1214, Prior of Melrose, elected Bishop of Caithness in 1213, but retained his abbacy until he was consecrated a year afterwards. He was murdered at Caithness in 1222, which is thus recorded in the *Chronica de Mailros*,—"1222, died that father of holy memory, and that excellent pastor, Adam, Bishop of Caithness, formerly Abbot of Melrose, and a true monk of the Cistercian order, together with Serlo, a Deacon of Newbottle, who was permitted happily to attain unto the brotherhood of heavenly citizens (as we think), having passed through the triumph of manifold suffering. For, as while upon earth, he was allowed to become a partaker of the martyrdom of the saints, so we may be permitted to believe that he was not deprived of their society in heaven, the more especially, as he was content to suffer death for the sake of justice, namely, for the claim of tithes, according to the use of ecclesiastical authority, and like a good shepherd, chose rather to lay down his life for his sheep than permit the flock which had been entrusted to his charge to continue any longer in an inveterate error. And since it is the cause rather than the suffering which makes the martyr, so in his case the cause was plain and just; the suffering most cruel; and therefore to withhold from him the honour and the merit which he has earned would be to do

him injury, the more especially as he in his own person is well known to have borne the sufferings of many martyrs. He endured cruel threats and frequent taunts; he was exposed to crushing blows and bloody wounds; he endured the staves of St. James, and the stones of St. Stephen; and at length the flames of St. Lawrence presented him as a burnt-offering to the Lord. Thus he suffered martyrdom at his episcopal manor, which in the English tongue is called Haukine, on Sunday, the 3rd. of the ides of September," (September 14th.) "After the flames had been extinguished, his body was found under a pile of stones entire, though broiled with the fire, and discoloured from the blows inflicted by the stones, and it was committed to the grave with the honour that was so fully its due, in the baptismal church, before the holy altar. Thus the faithful daughter received into the protection of her own bosom that father whom his wicked and unnatural sons had so cruelly put to death, there to rest until he shall arise in glory to a happy resurrection." In 1239 his relics were translated to the cathedral of his see, "and it is reported," adds the *Chronica*, "that many miracles were performed at their removal." His works are "History of Scotland," in three books; "Letters to the King against the Earl of Caithness," "Biblical Extracts," "Description of the Isles," "Letters to Pope Alexander IV." (doubtful.)

12. HUGH DE CLIFFESTONE, a monk of the house, 1214; resigned 1215, at the general Chapter of the Order at Cîteaux.

13. WILLIAM DE CURCY, Abbot of Holm Cultram, 1215; translated to Rievaulx, 1216.

14. RALPH, Cellarer, 1216—1219. In the first year of his abbacy the Barons of Yorkshire and the Marches, who were in arms against King John, swore fealty to Alexander of Scotland in the Chapter House of Melrose.

15. ADAM DE HARCARI, Abbot of Newbottle, 1219—1245, who governed the house for a quarter of a century, during a period of great prosperity, when the abbey increased considerably both in wealth and importance.

16. MATTHEW, Cellarer, 1246, resigned 1261. The reason assigned for his resignation was bodily infirmity, but the real cause was that he relaxed the rules of the house, and was too lenient to the monks for breaches of discipline, by whom he was, for this reason, much beloved. But it came to the ears of his superior, the Abbot of Rievaulx, and incurred his displeasure, and it was at his suggestion, or perhaps command, that he laid down the office. He built a magnificent hall on the river bank, for the residence of himself and his successors. The *Chronica* thus deplores his fall:—"Our venerable father, Matthew, Lord Abbot of Melrose, was deposed in the Chapter House of Revaux, though he was absent, and this was done without the counsel, nay without the knowledge of a single living soul in Scotland; and his deposition in this sort occasioned much grief, as well to the monks as to the lay brethren of the monastery of Melrose, for, in their opinion, he had no fault in him which was worthy of such an act of deposition. The Father Abbot, however, was content that he should be thus dealt with, in consequence of some presentments which had been made against him, and which, to him, appeared to be valid. After his deposition had been announced, that same Father Abbot absolved, in the Chapter, which was held upon the day of his deposition, all the monks of Melrose from the obedience and the professions which they had made to him. Alas! that it should be so; for this good Matthew (who was a revered and open-handed man) had been the means of procuring, for the House of Melrose, some property and many comforts; it is through him that we have pittance loaves upon the Fridays during Lent, when we fast upon bread and water. It was he who built our large houses at Betwick, as also many cow-houses, many houses for oxen, and the great chamber for the Abbot, which stands by the bank of the river, as well as many other edifices."

17. ADAM DE MAXTON, Abbot of Newbottle, formerly Cellarer at Melrose, 1261, deposed 1267, by the general Chapter of the Cistercians, "for pride and obstinacy, and the assumption of powers not his."

18. JOHN DE EDERHAM, Master of the Novices, 1267, excommunicated 1268, along with several of the monks, for breaking into the house of the Bishop of St. Andrews, killing a priest, and wounding others."

19. ROBERT DE KELDELETH, 1268—1273. Originally a Benedictine monk, and in 1240 Abbot of Dunfermline, and Chancellor of Scotland. In 1251, King Henry III. of England and Alexander III. of Scotland met at York to celebrate the marriage of the latter with Margaret, daughter of the former, when the English king imparted to Alexander the information which had come to his ears that the abbot had entered into a conspiracy for altering the succession to the Scottish crown. When charged with the crime, he resigned the seals and retired to Dunfermline, but soon after quarreled with the monks, resigned his abbacy, and entered the Cistercian monastery of Newbottle, whence he was called to preside over Melrose. He was author of "De Successione Abbatum de Melros," "Hortilegium Spirituale."

20. PATRICK OF SELKIRKE, 1273, who swore fealty to Edward I. of England in 1296.

So far the chronicle of Melrose: from which time we have no record of the succession of abbots, although the names of some occur incidentally in various writings.

WILLIAM DE FOGON was Abbot in 1310.

WILLIAM, whether the same or another, in 1329, had many interviews with King Edward II. of England relative to the monastery during the invasions of Scotland by that monarch.

WILLIAM, presumably another, is mentioned in 1342, 1354, and 1369.

DAVID BENYN, in 1409, had a letter of safe-conduct through England to Canterbury, and in 1422 excommunicated one John Haig, for trespass and other misdeeds on the abbey lands.

JOHN FOGO, D.D., a monk of the house, was Abbot in 1425. He was Confessor to King James I., who sent him on one occasion on an embassy to Rome. He was an eminently learned man; Leslie says a Professor of Divinity, and Spottiswood that he disputed with great force against Friar Harding, and was the main agent in the confutation of Paul Crawar, the Bohemian, and sending him to the stake. Indeed he was all through his life a most bitter opponent of the principles of John Wycliffe, which were then gaining a footing in Scotland. He wrote

the following works:—"Pauli Crau, Bohemi, Examen," "De Erroribus Wicklifeilarum atque Hussitarum," "De Confessione Auriculari."

JOHN LUNDY occurs as monk in 1428, and as Abbot 1440 and 1442.

ANDREW HUNTER became Abbot in 1449. He was Confessor to King James II.; Lord Treasurer 1449-1453; went on an embassy to France in 1448, along with the Bishop of Dunkeld and the Lord Chancellor, and was similarly employed until his death in 1460. His armorial bearings are sculptured on a buttress of the church.

WILLIAM succeeded him in 1460.

RICHARD was a commissioner to negotiate a truce with England in 1473, and witness to a charter of King James III., in 1476.

JOHN FRAZER completed the body of the newly built church in 1476; was consecrated Bishop of Ross in 1485, became a Lord of Session and Privy Councillor, and died in 1507, aged seventy-eight.

BARNARD occurs 1490-1499.

At this time the Cistercians had become altogether secularized, ignoring altogether their vows of poverty, and their duties of fasting, penitence, and prayer. Not only did the abbots and superior officers live in magnificent style, and keep luxurious tables, with youths of noble families for their pages, but the ordinary monks ate and drank of the best, kept their horses and hounds, and went whithersoever they pleased in the pursuit of pleasure. The general council at Cîteaux looked upon this state of things as a great scandal, and about the close of the fifteenth century commissioned John Schanwell, Abbot of Cupar, to make a visitation of the Cistercian Houses of Scotland, to reform abuses and restore the communities, as far as possible, to their pristine simplicity. It appears that in the course of his examination he found it necessary to depose the Abbot of Melrose (whose name is not known) and two other abbots.

WILLIAM, son of Sir Walter Scott, occurs in 1504 and 1506.

JAMES BEATON, a nephew of Cardinal Beaton, is supposed to have held the abbacy previously to 1522, at which date he was translated from the Bishopric of Glasgow to the Archbishopric of St. Andrews.

During the years 1524-5 the abbacy lay vacant, whilst there were many competitors for the office, John Maxwell, Abbot of Dundrenan, offering Queen Margaret £1,000 per annum out of the revenues, if she could procure it for him. The Queen, then Dowager of James IV., made use of all her influence with her brother, Henry the Eighth of England, to procure his election, but the Pope stepped in and appointed

ANDREW DURIE, under whose abbacy the Chapter of Cîteaux again attempted a reform of the Scottish Houses, but without success. In 1535 King James V. was invested with the administration of the funds. He chid the monks for the looseness of their lives, but took no steps to effect a reformation, as perhaps it might endanger his share of the spoil. In 1541 he procured the resignation of Durie in favour of his infant illegitimate son,

JAMES STUART, who was appointed abbot, or commendator, his father pocketing the whole of the revenues, excepting a thousand marks per annum as a pension to the retiring abbot, who was also made Bishop of Galloway, 1541, and died in 1558. The boy abbot held the office seventeen years, and along with it the abbacy of Kelso, and died in 1558.

CARDINAL GUISE was appointed his successor by his sister, Mary of Lorraine, the Queen Dowager, but the principles of the Reformation under Knox had spread over the land; whilst in the sister kingdom of England the example had been set of suppressing the monasteries altogether, as nests of corruption and immorality, and before the cardinal had time to gather in the first fruits, the lords of the reformed party sequestered the revenues, and placed them in trust under the care of the Earl of Arran. In 1560 the estates were annexed to the crown by statute, with a condition that the sovereign should not have power to alienate them, but this clause was abrogated afterwards.

The revenues were estimated at £1,758, Scots money, out of which pensions of twenty marks each were allotted to the eleven monks and three portioners, all that were left of the usual number of about one hundred monks, and the same number of lay brethren, who were maintained within the walls before the kings began to have the control of the cash. The Dean of the Chapter embraced the Reformed faith.

Besides this revenue the monastery held the patronage of six kirks, and had at their granges considerable flocks and herds, in their granaries large stores of grain, and in their cellars an abundance of wine and ale. In the latter days of their prosperity there were allowed annually, for home consumption, three hundred casks of ale; for the mass, eighteen casks of wine; and for the entertainment of visitors, twenty casks of wine and forty of ale.

The abbey, with all its lands, tithes, etc., was granted by Queen Mary to James, Earl of Bothwell and Duke of Orkney, her husband, but were forfeited on his attainder for treason, and were given to James, second son of William Douglas, of Lochleven, afterwards Earl of Morton, as commendator, and by his care a great many of the old documents, charters, etc., were preserved from destruction. The abbey was afterwards granted to Sir John Ramsay, who was created Viscount Haddington and Earl of Holderness by James Sixth of Scotland and First of England, for his service of rescuing him from the conspirators of the Gowrie plot. It was afterwards acquired by Sir Thomas Hamilton, who was created Earl of Melrose in 1619, a title which he subsequently exchanged for that of Haddington.

The history of the abbey of Melrose presents itself to us under three aspects—the earlier period of poverty, community of goods, abundant almsgiving, piety, and asceticism, with a



THE CLOISTERS.

succession of devout and learned men; the middle period of trouble and disaster, arising out of the continual wars between England and Scotland, and the continual passage of lawless armed bodies of men across the borders, who scrupled not to plunder, with sacrilegious hands, even the holiest places; and the latter period, when corruption, luxury, and vice had crept in, and the monks, regardless alike of their vows and their duties, lived the lives of lay-gentlemen in the enjoyment of their possessions, resulting ultimately in the extinction of the brotherhood, under the attacks of the Reformers and the greed of the nobles to appropriate to themselves the lands held by the monastic fraternities.

A brief summary of the history is all that can be given in the space at our command.

The monastic buildings were finished in Easter week, 1136, and the church completed and dedicated in July, 1146. In 1171 the tomb "of the Holy Father Lord Wallef, second Abbot," was opened, and the body found undecomposed, proving the fact of his being a saint, and a new stone of polished marble placed over his relics; "and there was much rejoicing, and all who were present raised their voices and said, 'Truly this was a man of God.'"

A dispute arose in 1180 between the monks and Richard de Moreve, concerning the forest and pastures between the Galge and the Ledre, which came on for adjudication before King William and his brother David at Haddington, on mid-lent Sunday, when, "by the assistance of God, the justice of their cause gained the suit for the monks, and the property adjudicated to them," in confirmation of which the king gave them a charter. Indeed disputes as to boundaries and territorial rights were rife about this time between Melrose and neighbouring landowners, and with the abbey of Kelso, the swineherds and cattle-tenders not unfrequently coming to blows in the assertion of their masters' rights. To settle the dispute



S. A. J. G. W. A. Y.

with Kelso, John de Salerno, the Pope's Legate, came to Melrose, where he was feasted for fifty days, and after receiving valuable presents from both sides, left the question as he found it, with instructions for the king to arbitrate the matter. About the same time, in 1185, Robert de Avenel, a novice, died, leaving his lands to the abbey, which is duly chronicled, with the prayer, "May his blessed soul live for ever in glory!" Jocelyne, Bishop of Glasgow, formerly Abbot of Melrose, also gave, in pure and perpetual alms to God and St. Mary of Melrose, the church of St. Kentegern, for which "May his blessed spirit be for ever in eternal glory and happy memory!" He died in 1199, and was buried at Melrose. In the reign of William the Lion, the supremacy of the English king over Scotland was acknowledged by the king, but the monks and ecclesiastics refused to recognize it, and on the king's attempt to enforce it the Pope declared the Church to be by special grace the daughter of Rome, and subject only to the Apostolic jurisdiction. Soon after the king further incurred the Papal

displeasure, by disputing the right of the Pope to appoint to the vacant see of St. Andrews, and his kingdom was placed under interdict, for the removal of which Ernald, Abbot of Melrose, and others were sent on embassy to Rome.

In the year 1216, certain Yorkshire barons, then in opposition to King John, on the advance of the king against them, fled into Scotland and swore fealty to Alexander of Scotland in the Chapter House of Melrose. John followed them, took Berwick, and desolated the Borders with fire and sword, "where," says the chronicle, "he and his mercenary soldiers conducted themselves with unparalleled ferocity and inhuman tyranny; for as many men and women as these slaves of the Devil could secure, they hung up by the joints of their hands and their feet, and subjected them to torments of all kinds, but of the greatest intensity, for the sake of plunder." Alexander retaliated by entering England, by way of Cumberland, "but," says the chronicle, "upon this occasion it is to be lamented that certain Scots, devils rather than soldiers, contrary to the wishes and express commands of the king, in their accursed and sacrilegious madness, pillaged the house of Holm Cultram of everything upon which they could lay their hands—holy books, vestments, chalices, horses and cattle, utensils and garments, so that they even stripped to the skin a monk lying at his last gasp in the infirmary; but they did not pass unpunished, for as they were returning with their prey there were drowned in the river Eden more than nineteen hundred Scotsmen in one short hour. This was the merited punishment of God."

King John died the same year, and being a vassal of the Pope, Cardinal Gaulo, the Legate, let loose the Papal thunder on Scotland, hoping at the same time to pocket large sums for himself from the rich to be absolved from excommunication. To his surprise, he found Melrose and the other Cistercian houses took no notice whatever of the interdict, but continued their services as usual, pleading that their order was exempt from general interdicts. With furious wrath, the Cardinal, apparently not aware of this peculiar privilege of the Cistercians, hurled against them specially a more emphatic excommunication; but the Cistercians met in Chapter at Citeaux, whither the Abbot of Melrose went, and a deputation was sent to Rome, when their peculiar privilege was confirmed, and, says Buchanan, "the Cardinal was stripped of a great part of his Scottish plunder, which was divided among the complainers."

Under King Alexander II. Melrose steadily advanced in wealth, their possessions being considerably augmented by a grant from the king of the Forest of Ettrick, who soon after died, and was buried in a chapel of the nave of the abbey. Under his successor, Alexander III., the abbey of Scotland had risen to their greatest height of importance, and wielded great influence over the affairs of the kingdom, beginning to employ themselves as much in political as in ecclesiastical matters; but a series of national disasters which followed brought evil days upon them, especially on the Border monasteries, which were exposed to unscrupulous plundering on both sides. In 1235 a rising took place in Galloway, which was suppressed by the king; but on his departure "certain of the Scots—knives rather than knights—plundered that district so thoroughly that in their accursed madness, finding a monk at the very point of death, in the abbey of Glenluce, they stripped him even of the scrap of sackcloth in which he lay. At Tungland they killed the prior and the sacristan within the church, but the Almighty did not suffer such sin to pass unpunished, for the murderer was caught, and drawn asunder by horses at Roxburgh." The dispute appears to have arisen out of the death of Alan, Lord of Galloway, who left behind three daughters and a "base-born" son, and bequeathed his estates for division amongst his daughters. The son, however, claimed the succession, and brought a body of Irish to assist him in gaining, by force, what he deemed his right. The Bishop of Galloway and the Abbot of Melrose, ("who did not fail to extend to the son, though degenerative, the friendship they had held for his father,") with the Earl of Dunbar, at the head of a force more numerous than that of the claimant, went forth to meet him, who, finding himself outnumbered, surrendered at discretion, and

disbanded his followers, who, as they were proceeding homeward through Glasgow, "were discovered by the citizens, who unanimously sallied forth and cut off the heads of as many as they could lay hands upon, whilst they reserved two of the oldest, whom they caused to be drawn to death by horses at Edinburgh."

A solemn ceremonial was observed in 1240, in the translation of the bones of the abbots from the entrance of the Chapter House, where they had been buried, to the eastern end of the same building, "excepting those of our venerable father, Walleve, which were not removed, for when his tomb was opened, it was found that his body was reduced to dust. Those who were present carried off a few bones, and a knight of repute secured one of the teeth, by means of which (as he afterwards stated) many sick persons were healed."

The guardians of the king (Alexander III.) sent messengers to Rome, to lay certain charges against the Bishop of St. Andrews. The Pope heard both sides, declared the charges false, and instead of deposing the bishop he excommunicated those who made them, and who had broken into and plundered his house. He deputed Matthew, Abbot of Melrose, with the Bishop of Dunblane and the Abbot of Gedeworth, to proclaim the sentence through Scotland, at first with lighted tapers and the tolling of bells, in general terms, and if they persisted, then personally by name. This was done at Stirling and in the conventual church of Kambuskennede, and the excommunicated were ejected from the king's council. They assembled a force in arms to maintain their position, men who to the great horror of the Melrose chronicler, "ate flesh not only in Lent but even upon Good Friday itself." They were, however, compelled to fly across the borders, and returned with an armed body of English, but by the mediation of neutral parties the matter was compromised.

In 1296, the Abbots of Melrose, Dryburgh, Jedburgh, and Kelso swore fealty to the "usurper," Edward I. of England, and by this means obtained restitution of their estates, which had been confiscated for their opposition to him; but in 1303, the Regent, Comyn, broke open the gates of Melrose, to attack certain of the English who were sheltering there, paying no respect to the letters of protection held by the monks, who had to appeal to King Edward for redress.

When King Edward II. was returning from his last ill-starred expedition into Scotland, in 1322, on passing through Roxburghshire with a discontented, famine-stricken fragment of his army, he sent forward to Melrose three hundred men-at-arms, with orders to the abbot to prepare for his reception, and provide provisions for his followers. It chanced, however, that Earl Douglas was in the neighbourhood, who caused the men to be admitted within the precincts, then fell upon them and cut them to pieces. He was no match, however, with his small force, against the army itself, which followed at the heels of the three hundred, and so enraged were they at the slaughter of their comrades, and maddened to desperation by famine, that they at once fell upon the monks, killing and wounding a great number of them, and then ransacked the cellars and larders for provisions, with which they gorged themselves to their hearts' content. Not content with this, they then plundered the abbey of all its portable valuables, destroying such as they could not carry away, and then setting fire to the abbey itself, left it behind them a pile of smouldering ruins.

This was the most disastrous event that had ever happened to the fraternity since its foundation. The monks were slain or dispersed; their home lay desolate; their cattle and sheep were driven off; their granaries rifled; and their sacred vessels, rich vestments, and jewelled appliances of divine worship and state ceremonials appropriated by the plunderers, or destroyed. It appears that one William was abbot at the time, and that he was living in 1329, so that he escaped the fate of so many of his companions, and it is probable that on the approach of the army, he would retire to some place of refuge until the storm had passed over. And as the *Chronica* escaped destruction, he may have taken that and such of the more holy and valuable vessels with him, or they may have been placed in the underground

secret vault, which was constructed for their concealment on the approach of an enemy.

However that may be, and however much the brethren may have felt downcast and disheartened at their terrible loss, it resulted in good, for within four years King Robert Bruce, sympathising with them in their misfortune, commenced the re-edification of their house in the magnificent decorated style of the period. Previously it had been a plain and rather ungainly building, with the round arches and low stunted columns of the Norman style, during its transition to the Early English; but now it uprose in all the magnificence and splendour of the best period of the pointed Gothic, with its wealth of traceried windows, aspiring pinnacles,



NAVE AND SOUTH AISLE, FROM EAST.

tabernacle work, chiselled fretwork, canopied niches and statues, of admirable proportions, with a noble tower and heaven-pointing spire rising from the midst, forming, in its gorgeous ornamentation, a striking contrast to the earlier Teviotdale monasteries of Kelso, Jedburgh, and Dryburgh. It was repaired for the last time in the reign of James VI., the alterations and modifications being executed in the then prevailing perpendicular and last phase of Gothic architecture, which is notably visible in the great east window, the mullions rising vertically from bottom to top, instead of curving in the upper portion into pointed arches. The king granted £2,000 from fines and forfeited lands towards the restoration fund, and in the Northampton treaty of peace between England and Scotland, he caused a special stipulation to be inserted for the restitution of the lands of the Teviotdale Abbeys. The heart of this noble king and eminent benefactor, after having been sent, according to his will, on its unsuccessful journey for burial in the Holy Land, was brought back to Scotland, and found a fitting resting-place in the abbey he had built.

After Edward Baliol's attempt to seat himself on the Scottish throne, the abbot and monks of Melrose swore fealty to Edward III. of England, who, in 1340, after an excursion in the Forest of Ettrick, celebrated the festival of Christmas in the abbey.

King Richard II. of England, irritated by the predatory acts of the Scottish Borderers in England, invaded Scotland with a large army, the freebooters flying to the mountains at his approach, whilst another body was ravaging the western marches of England. He burned the villages and laid waste the land in his progress, and partially burnt the abbeys of Melrose and Dryburgh. The former he set fire to in the morning, after he had been hospitably



NORTH TRANSEPT.

entertained there and sheltered for the night, but seems to have experienced some compunction for this mode of settling his reckoning, as he afterwards granted letters of protection and bestowed some privileges on the abbey.

The laxity of discipline into which the Scottish Cistercians had fallen, caused the general chapter of Cîteaux, in 1533, to endeavour an enforcement of the ancient rule, and commissioners were sent with this object. They found that the rules of poverty and community of goods were especially neglected, and that at Melrose, Newbottle, and Balmerino, the monks had pensions allotted them, found their own food and clothes, and had each a garden for recreation and use. The commissioners raised objections to these infringements of the rules, but the lesser monasteries murmured, saying, that it would be time enough for them to make an alteration when Melrose set the example. The next year, Donald, Abbot of Cupar, and Walter, Abbot of Glenluce, were authorised to charge Andrew, Abbot of Melrose, to reform

these matters, under penalty of deposition, and to punish with excommunication the monks if, after twenty days' notice, they proved refractory. A deputation of the monks waited upon the commissioners, and said that they held no personalities but what the abbot allowed them, and begged permission to continue the innocent amusement of tending their gardens, which had been enjoyed by their predecessors for one hundred years. The commissioners assented, with these qualifications that all the gardens should be of the same size, that a public way should be maintained through them, and that the produce should go to the common stock; that they might enjoy their pensions, but that all should be equal in amount, and that any surplus, after supplying their wants, should go to the common fund. But these reforms were only superficial; the monks had lost all the austerity of the fathers of the order, and outside, the clamour of the Reformers for a radical change or suppression increased day by day.

On the breaking off of the proposal for the marriage of Prince Edward with Mary of Scotland, King Henry VIII. sent an army into the country under the Earl of Hertford, whilst Sir Ralph Evers and Sir Bryan Latoun were commissioned to devastate Teviotdale, which they did with a relentless savagery even then scarcely known. Towns, churches, and crops were ruthlessly destroyed, and Melrose, with the other Border abbeys, suffered severely.

In the following spring (1545) the enemy occupied Jedburgh, making preparations for the complete subjugation of Teviotdale, but the Earl of Angus, wrought up to fury by their destruction of the tombs of his ancestors in Melrose Abbey, advanced against the invaders with a powerful force, and at Ancram Moor carried out his threat of "writing the deeds of possession upon their bodies, with pens of iron and ink of blood." But this defeat was avenged in the autumn by the Earl of Hertford, who with twelve hundred troops overran Teviotdale and laid it completely waste, nothing being held sacred in the eyes of the spoilers. Melrose was most foully treated, and never recovered its former splendour.

But its day was over, it had done its work, and done it nobly, in instructing the ignorant, pointing out the pathway to virtue and holiness, and in affording a retreat to devout and learned men from the troubles and turbulence of the outside world. And in these latter days it had become apathetic in the performance of its duties or neglected them altogether, ignoring altogether the primitive rules of St. Benedict, as they did also those of Robert of Citeaux and St. Bernard of Clervaux, the reformers of the Benedictines and founders of their own Cistercian order. Hence it was fitting that having done its work, the abbey and its few remaining monks should be swept away. At this juncture too a new and powerful influence came in to complete the work of destruction. The reformers under Knox were a sincere God-fearing people, but rough and fierce in their ways, bitter opponents of the Roman Catholic faith, and possessing no conception of the beautiful in art, were ruthless iconoclasts, destroying without the least scruple the finest works of the chisel, as idols and abominable in the sight of God. The cry was raised—"Pull down the nests and the rooks will depart," and aided by the mob, who knew little of the rival faiths, but were ever ready for destruction and pillage, they fell upon the abbeys, dispersed the monks, and rioted on the plunder; the work being completed by the lords of the congregation seizing the estates.

It was under the brutal violence of the mobs of 1559-60 that Melrose was reft of much of its architectural beauty: the high altar was torn bit from bit; the pinnacles were pulled down, the statues mutilated or reduced to powder by hammers; the painted glass shattered in the windows; the carved work of the screens and stalls hewn into fragments by the axe; and the tombs, gravestones, and effigies of the dead broken to pieces; whilst for a century afterwards the abbey was made use of, as a stone quarry, for the erection of houses, barns, and even less dignified structures, the wonder being not that so little, but that so much of it remains at the present day, in attestation of its original splendour.

In 1618, a rude stone roof, constructed of stones taken from other parts of the building, was thrown over a portion of the nave, which was fitted up for the parish church, but which

fell into disuse in 1810, the roof however being allowed to remain as it still does, "marring the beauty of the ancient edifice, and attesting the depravity of Presbyterian taste regarding architecture."

The number of statues which ornamented the outside walls, buttresses, and pinnacles was so great that many of them escaped the iconoclasm of 1559-60, but those which were saved from the zeal and fury of the Reformers, fell a prey to the not less zealous wrath of the Covenanters of 1649, when almost all that remained were thrown down and demolished. On this occasion what in an earlier age would have been considered a miracle occurred. One of the most active of the destroyers was a man who was using his hammer vigorously upon a statue of the Virgin Mary, the patroness of the Cistercians, when a portion of the figure fell upon



NAVE AND NORTH AND SOUTH AISLE.

his arm, and maimed him so that he was never after able to use it, and for the future went by the nickname of "Stumpy."

Melrose sent forth many able and learned men in its earlier days, as abbots of other monasteries and as bishops, who were distinguished in their day and generation, besides nurturing within its walls men of considerable scholarship, who made valuable contributions to the literature of the time, amongst whom were the following:—

Bishops.

SIMON DE TONEI, Monk of Melrose, formerly Abbot of Coggeshal, county Essex, Bishop of Moray, 1171; died 1184. Author of "Reformatio Cleri," "De Regia S. Malcomi Successione," "In Epistolas Pauli."

JOCELYNE, Abbot of Melrose; Bishop of Glasgow, 1174; died at Melrose, 1199.

REGINALD, a monk of Melrose; Bishop of Ross, and Cardinal, *circa* 1190; died 1213. Author of "Præcepta salutaria ad Fratres," "Collectiones Synodales."

RALPH, Abbot of Melrose; Bishop of Down, Ireland, 1202.

ADAM, Abbot of Melrose; Bishop of Caithness, 1213; murdered in his palace, 1222.

GILBERT, Master of the Novices, Melrose, afterwards Abbot of Glenluce; Bishop of Withern, 1235.

JOHN FRASER, Abbot of Melrose; Bishop of Ross, 1485; died 1507.

ANDREW DURIA, Abbot of Melrose; Bishop of Galloway, 1541-1558.

Abbots of other Monasteries.

RALPH, a monk of Melrose; Abbot of Cupar, 1171; died 1189.

REINER, a monk of Melrose; Abbot of Kinloss, 1174; Abbot of Melrose, 1189; resigned 1194. He is said to have restored to life two dead pilgrims, whom he found by the wayside, to enable them to make a last confession, and receive absolution. A work entitled "In Leges Claustrales," is attributed to him. He was afterwards canonized under the name of St. Nervus.

GILBERT, a monk of Melrose; Abbot of Holy Island; died in 1200. Author of "Eight Most Delectable and Elegant Sermons on the Song of Solomon."

ERNALD, Abbot of Melrose; elected to the superior dignity of Abbot of Rievaulx, Yorkshire, 1189.

RALPH, Prior of Melrose; Abbot of Kinloss, 1189; Abbot of Melrose, 1194; Bishop of Down, 1202.

ADAM, Sub-Prior of Melrose; Abbot of Cupar, 1189; resigned 1194.

WILLIAM, Master of the Converts, Melrose; Abbot of Cupar, 1200; Abbot of Melrose, 1202; died 1206.

ALAN, Sub-Prior of Melrose; Abbot of Newbottle, 1213; resigned 1214.

WILLIAM, Cellarer of Melrose; Abbot of Glenluce, 1214.

WILLIAM, Abbot of Melrose; formerly Abbot of Holmcultran; translated to Rievaulx, 1216.

ALAN, a monk of Melrose; first Abbot of Balmerino, 1220.

HUGH, Master of the Converts, Melrose; Abbot of St. Servanus, 1232.

HUGH, Prior of Melrose; Abbot of Dere, 1234; resigned 1235, on account of the infirmities of age and the coldness of the locality; returned, was re-installed as Prior, and died shortly after.

ROGER, Cellarer of Melrose; Abbot of Glenluce, 1236; died 1256.

MICHAEL, Prior of Melrose; Abbot of Glenluce.

LEONIS, Abbot of Dundrenan; formerly a monk of Melrose; Abbot of Rievaulx, 1239; died 1240.

ADAM, Porter of Melrose; Abbot of Balmerino, 1252.

ADAM, Cellarer of Melrose, Abbot of Newbottle, 1259; Abbot of Melrose, 1261.

ADAM DE SMALHAM, a monk of Melrose; Abbot of Dere; "in 1267 voluntarily laid down his office, preferring the sweets of Melrose, of which he had already had experience, to the duty of presiding over the petty convent of Dere, in the warmth of whose devotion he could never feel any assured confidence."

WALDEVE, a monk of Melrose; Abbot of Newbottle, 1269, where he had formerly been cellarer.

Other eminent members of the fraternity, whose names have come down to us, were

THOMAS RURETUS, an intimate friend of Abbot Waltheof, who wrote "The Life of St. Waltheof," "An Account of the Miracles of St. Waltheof," and "Decreta Synodalia."

TYNA, Cellarer under Waltheof; author of another "Life of St. Waltheof," "A Treatise on Almsgiving," and a series of "Lent Sermons."

PETER TEUTON, a monk of the 14th. century, who wrote "A Metrical History of the Life of King Robert the Bruce."

REGINALD DE ROXBURGH, a monk, famous as a statesman and diplomatist, and for "his excellence and excellent discretion," under Alexander III., was sent to Norway in 1265, to negotiate for the restitution of the Isle of Man, which had formerly belonged to Scotland, but was then in the possession of Norway. He was received with great distinction by the king, who summoned a council to discuss the matter with him. There was great opposition amongst the nobles to the giving of the island, but at length, by the plausibility of his arguments, he half won over the king, who suggested that it might tend to the preservation of peace if they were to sell the island to the Scottish king, and would bring money into the treasury. Still many of the nobles would not listen to the suggestion, but others were over-persuaded by the monk's arguments, and when the question was put to the vote there was a majority in favour of giving it up to Scotland, "for one hundred pounds of sterlings in each year, as a recognition of homage from the King of Scotland to the King of Norway." He returned the following year, having accomplished his task satisfactorily. "With the sole exception of this monk," adds the *Chronica*, "none of the children of the Scots had ever been able to bring about this result, for he was a wise man, and exceedingly clear in his exposition of the Scriptures," (although what this had to do with his diplomatic mission does not appear,) "and earned for his house the constant grace and favour of all future Kings of Scotland, unless it should happen that these sovereigns should prove ungrateful, and return evil for good to the House of Melrose, which may God turn away from the heart of every christian king!"

"In the days of ADAM DE HARCARRIES," says the *Chronica*, "there was another Adam, an illustrious monk, by birth a Yorkshireman. It happened that he was one day in the orchard, (not without a reasonable cause,) when he heard the bell sound for evening service, and hastened toward the church. But he found the postern gate, which he had left open, closed and locked, and as he was standing before it, in great anguish, not knowing what to do, lo! by God's means it suddenly opened of itself, and he passed through in time for the service. From this we may gather how easily he entered into the kingdom of heaven, who had the postern gate opened for him with so great readiness. Oh, blessed Lady of Heaven! I cannot imagine in the lowliness of my conjecture but that this wicket had been opened by thee; for one day as he was standing before thee, opposite the altar of St. Stephen, it was granted him to see thee, not actually as upon earth; not upon the wall; not dependant upon any corruptible matter, but, as the man of God related, he saw thee in the open and spacious body of the church, now in motion in the air, now standing motionless before him who most devoutly loved thee, clad in a most beautiful but an exceedingly delicate and seamless garment of purest white. Thinking that no one saw him, he then bent the knee, and made

frequent signs with the hand, expressive of the joy which he experienced in the presence of the beloved one. He was observed, however, by a monk, who asked him the cause of his rapture, and he told him of the vision, with strict injunctions not to mention it to any one whilst he (Adam) lived. The monk asked how it was that he did not see it. "Because," was the reply, "the Mother of God reveals herself only to such as have for long devoutly waited upon her, and have rendered to her such services as have in themselves the nature of good works." "Concerning this blessed man," continues the chronicler, "it is worth while to relate one miracle more which God performed for him long after his death." There was a blind monk in the monastery, one William de Duno, who asked his attendant one day to conduct him to Adam's tomb. On his arrival he prostrated himself before it and prayed, 'Oh, Master Adam, as I truly believe that thou hast truly loved God in thy life, and that thou art with Him in the life eternal, I entreat thee to be pleased to offer up prayer to Him that, through thee, I may be enabled to obtain the light of my eyes, which I have lost, my sins demanding it. Remember, my dear friend, how much I loved thee in this life, and that I did thee honour to the best of my ability.' For this blind man had formerly been sacrist, and had very frequently supplied his friend with such necessities as he required. After having prayed such and such like words, lo! a light of marvellous brightness entered at first into one of his temples, and passing through the closed recesses of his eyes, went out by the other temple, as he himself informed me. This having occurred in a sudden manner, he rose up with his sight perfectly restored, and he returned from the sepulchre of the holy man without requiring the assistance of the guide who had led his steps thither."

Along with the monks, at the Reformation, the beautiful Gothic order of architecture, with its graceful outlines and delicate chiselling, its suggestive idealism, and poetical symbolism, became extinct. If we have nothing else to thank them for, we owe them a debt of gratitude for having evolved and carried to perfection so noble a style, and for having reared so many majestic churches and groups of monastic buildings, whose relics, in a greater or less state of perfection, still remain strewn broadcast over our land. It was hatred of the corruptions of the Romanist religion which first impelled the Reformers and the Covenanters, with religious fury, to demolish the statues, carvings, and other adornments of the churches, which they looked upon as aids to a corrupt and even blasphemous worship. When they had finished their work in "spoiling the Temples of Dagon," the architects had been dispersed, and the art of church building was lost. The succeeding two and a half centuries may be considered as the dark age of architecture, when we had in succession, the Elizabethan, the Jacobean, the Carolean, and the quasi-Dutch Queen Anne styles, in which may be noticed a gradual degeneracy of taste, merging finally in the hideous Georgian style, if indeed it can be called architecture at all. When however it had reached its very lowest point at the beginning of the present century, there became perceptible a glimmer of the renaissance of the art. Rickman was the first to call attention to the beauties of the Gothic style, and since then Pugin and Scott have carried on the revival so effectually, that there are few, if any, persons of cultivated taste, who are not able to appreciate the manifold excellences and charms of the style.

During these two and a half centuries Melrose lay neglected and desolate, visited by neither pilgrim nor tourist, the former class having become defunct, and the latter not having come into existence. It lay crumbling away beneath the hand of time—pillars, pinnacles, and tracerywork becoming detached and falling to the earth, whilst there were other more rapid influences at work, threatening to destroy altogether what was left. James Douglas, when Commendator, built himself a house out of the ruins, which is still standing, and bears the date 1590; whilst another large portion was used in the seventeenth century for building a tolbooth. It was scarcely known excepting to the villagers of the surrounding hamlets, and they only repaired to it when they wanted stones for the repairs of buildings.

Francis Drake, of York, was one of the first to find it and appreciate its exquisite beauty, which he communicated in a letter, dated 1742, to another Yorkshire antiquary, Roger Gale. He says, "I could heartily wish that some judicious brother of your society" (Society of Antiquaries,) "was but to see a Gothic rarity that is in this neighbourhood, viz., the beauteous ruins of Melros, which I shall take upon me to say has been the most exquisite structure of its kind in either kingdom. I wont say but that other abbeys have been larger, such as St. Albans, and some conventual churches more august, as Beverley, but this of Mailros is

extravagantly rich in its imagery, niches, and all sorts of carving, by the best hands that Europe could produce at the time; nay, there is so much profusion of rich chisel work in foliage and flowers at the very top of the steeple, that it cannot be seen from the ground without the help of a glass. The capitals of every pillar that support the arches of the church and the doors are all hollowed with a small tool, being wreathed work of all sorts of flowers, such as you have at the entrance of your chapter-house at York. Every brother has had a stall in the cloister (now much demolished), which have been variously adorned with leaves of fern, oak, palm, holly, or some other kind of trees.

"The building from the steeple to the east end is entire in the walls, but the roof, which has been of stone and carved, is much decayed. The quire is but small, but has a noble east window, the glass all out; therein lies a marble stone without any inscription, half a hexagon, tapering smaller at the feet, of a bright green colour, and powdered full of white feathers.

"The whole structure is in the form of a St. John of Jerusalem cross; the north and south aisles" (transept) "pretty complete, at the north side, of which is a staircase that has led into the prior's house. From the steeple, westward, remain six arches of the nave, in which is the present kirk, that takes up about three of them; but how much further the ancient church has extended, I believe will be hard to know. In every arch of the nave, both north and south, has run a cross-wall into the two side aisles, making so many sacella, each with an altar and a holy water-pot." (This is incorrect, as they only occur on the south side.) "The windows are of an equal dimension, but variously figured and carved.

"The cloister has been on the north of the church, which opened into a garden that led to the Tweed, that is there of a good breadth; and there was another garden on the other side of the river.

"Our neighbours are not wanting in the faculty of amplifying, but the thing does really exceed all their exaggeration of praise. By this you'll sneer and say I have lived too long here, and am become as vain as they; however I stand by my assertion, etc."

From this it would appear that even in the middle of the last century there were those among the natives who were capable of admiring the picturesque beauty of the ruins, and who were not scant in their praise of them. But it was reserved for Sir Walter Scott to spread the fame of Melrose over the whole civilized world, by throwing over it the glamour of romance, and enshrining its features of interest in the witchery of poetry. He made it the place of burial of the great wizard, Michael Scott, whom he represents as lying there in his grave, with his book of magic clasped in his hand, never to be removed.—

"Save at his chief of Branksome's need,
And when that need was past and o'er
Again the volume to restore."

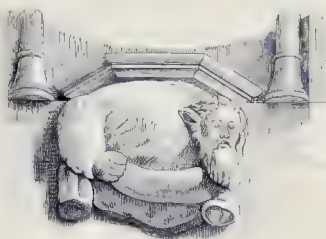
That chief's need did come, and William of Doloraine went to the abbey, entered the vault at midnight and took the volume, as is narrated in *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*.

The buildings of the monastery itself seem all or most of them to have stood on the north side of the church, and to have been enclosed along with the church and a portion of the gardens, by a high wall a mile in circuit, and must have been of great extent. Beyond the encircling wall was another garden, that in which the monk Adam was meditating, when the postern gate was shut upon him, and opened miraculously by the Virgin to enable him to attend the evening service. It sloped down to the Tweed, and beyond the river was another garden. The cloisters, as was usual in Cistercian Houses, lay to the north, alongside the nave of the church, of which only one angle and seven seats remained in 1743, the arches springing from pilasters ornamented with foliage, wreaths of flowers, acorns, quatrefoils, scallop-shells, etc. Along the south side was a long undivided seat surmounted by arches springing from particularly graceful pilasters, the present most westerly being more richly ornamented,

and supposed to have been originally the central seat for the abbot. There is no vestige remaining of the roof of the piazza, but the corbels from which the groinings sprung still remain. The dormitories of the monks would doubtless, in the early days, have been over the cloisters, but in later and most luxurious times they seem to have had separate houses, and several gentlemen desirous of retiring from the world, built for themselves houses within the precincts. The ruins of one called Chefholm may still be seen. An arched doorway at the angle formed by the transept was that by which the monks entered the church for the midnight service, and it was through this that the knight, William of Doloraine, was conducted by the monk to borrow the magical tome of Michael the Wizard.

The abbot's house appears to have been situated to the north of the transept, with a stair into the church, which still remains, with a font at the foot.

Besides the high church there was a chapel where the manse now stands, and a house adjoining, the foundations of which may still be seen, and on the north side a curious oratory, or private chapel, perhaps the abbot's, the foundations of which were discovered in 1743, with a large cistern of one stone, and a leaden pipe to convey water to it. On the north east



of the church there were in 1730 some ruins, with vestiges of pillars, supposed to have been the chapter house.

In a place, also on the north side, called bakehouse yard, near the mill, was an oven of excellent architecture, with several stories of ovens one above another as high as the steeple of a church, which was taken down about the year 1700. In ditching the bakehouse yard, about 1736, there was found a large brewing kettle, which was sold for £5, as old metal. From the bakehouse there ran a sewer so large that two or three men were able to walk abreast in it with ease. It is presumable that the kitchens would adjoin the bakery, and as the refectory was always in close proximity to the kitchen, that it would be in the same neighbourhood. The hospitium would probably be near the river, and the infirmary as well, unless it were on the south side, but in either case it would be placed at some distance from the other buildings.

The church was built in the form of a St. John of Jerusalem cross, with nave, choir, and Lady Chapel beyond, the total length of what remains being two hundred and fifty-eight feet, and a transept one hundred and thirty feet in length, by forty-four in breadth, placed fifty feet from the east end, which is the length of the choir and Lady Chapel together. From the intersection, at the west end of the choir rose a square tower, partially fallen, a portion of the west side resting on a pointed arch seventy-five feet in height, still remaining, and rising from this basement tower there seems to have been a spire. The exterior was remarkable for its symmetry and proportions, and particularly for the great profusion of crocketed pinnacles, and for its multitude of statues, in niches, under canopies, or merely on pedestals. The canopies and pedestals were all carved with grotesque figures of men and animals, some of the latter seemingly oppressed by the superincumbent weight, with the muscles of their necks

and arms admirably represented, and their mouths open, with protruding tongues, denoting the oppressiveness of their burthens. On the south-east wall is a well-executed line of musicians, with bagpipes, fiddles, dulcimers, organs, etc., and figures of veiled nuns.

The principal entrance was from the south, a doorway of receding pilasters of exceedingly delicate workmanship, with projecting tabernacle work. Above it is a magnificent window with four mullions, and the tracery perfect, rising in beautiful curves, and interlacing a catherine-wheel window of seven compartments, the whole twenty-four feet high within the arch. The mouldings of the arch converge inward, and are ornamented with climbing tendrils of foliage, springing from two busts, and terminating in a grotesque head in the centre. Immediately above is a niche which contained a figure of Jesus Christ, and graduating down the sides were twelve others, which are supposed to have held figures of the Disciples. All the niches are adorned with elaborate tabernacle work, and the pedestals are supported by bearded monks with inscribed fillets. There was also a figure of St. John the Baptist, with a fillet inscribed "Ecce filius Dei."

The great east window is much admired for its lightness and beautiful tracery, which is tolerably perfect. Its light size is thirty-six feet by sixteen feet. It is in the perpendicular style, with four mullions, and formerly a transverse bar, now gone. Rising up the architrave was a series of niched statues, one only of which remains—an abbot holding a crowned head, whilst in the top central niche were figures emblematic of the Trinity. Double buttresses flanked the window, with canopied arches, grotesquely carved pedestals, figures of monstrous shape, and terminating in pinnacles. This is called "The Prentice Window," a name given in Scotland to the most skilfully constructed part of an ecclesiastical building. Sir Walter Scott thus poetically describes it:—

"The moon on the east oriel shone,
Through slender shafts of shapely stone,
By foliated tracery combined;
Thou would'st have thought some fairy's hand,
'Twixt poplars straight the osier wand,
In many a freakish knot had twined;
Then framed a spell, when the work was done,
And changed the willow-wreaths to stone.
The silver light, so pale and faint,
Showed many a prophet and many a saint,
Whose image on the glass was dyed;
Full in the midst his cross of red
Triumphant Michael brandished,
And trampled the apostate's pride.
The moonbeam kiss'd the holy pane,
And threw on the pavement a bloody stain."

Along the south side of the nave was a range of windows, number unknown; three of these lighted the eastern portion, which constituted the parish church in modern times, and are perfect. Beyond them, westward, are five others, more or less broken, all with three mullions. They are all ornamented "with the face of a man or woman in a very antic manner." Over the most western are the arms of Scotland, and the date 1505, and above the arms a pedestal inscribed I.H.S. On another are represented a melle (mallet) and a rose, a rebus on the name of the abbey. Between the windows are ornamented buttresses, terminating in pinnacles, from which flying buttresses spring across the aisle to other pinnacles rising from the pillars of the nave.

At the east end, besides the great central window, there are four others, one each from the north and south transepts, and one each from the north and south transeptal portions of the choir. There are also two windows—one on the north, the other on the south side of what was doubtless the Lady Chapel. Besides this Lady Chapel window there was not another on the north side, the south cloister having been built up against the northern wall of the nave.

The nave consists of a centre and two side aisles, divided by clustered pillars, supporting arches with capitals and keystones, grotesquely but elegantly carved, and otherwise ornamented with foliage, fruit, and emblems. On the south side is a range of chapels, each one corresponding with the inter-columniation of the nave, and lighted by a window sixteen feet high by eight in breadth. These were used as burial places, each one for a separate family, with inscriptions still remaining, more or less obliterated. In that of the Pringles, the Baron of Smaelholm is represented wrapped in graveclothes, with an inscription,—“Heir leis ane honourabil man Andro Pringil, Feuar of Galloscheils quha decesit ye 28 of Februaire, An. Dom. 1585.” The western end of the nave is in ruins, and it is not known how far it extended; the eastern still remains covered by the ugly roof placed there when it was made the parish church. When the new church was built it was proposed to remove it, as well as the wall built across the western end, but they were allowed to remain, on the ground that they would serve as a protection for the east window from the violent winds which sweep up the nave.

The eastern end is the best preserved portion of the building, perhaps by reason of its having been the most recently restored, as its perpendicular style indicates, after some destructive outrage.

The choir still retains its beautiful fretted roof, which extends over the Lady Chapel, with a sculptured record of Scripture History, very complicated in the carving, with a figure of Christ upon the Cross, and another holding crossed swords and staves. From its sides rise the four great pillars which supported the tower, of exquisite workmanship, “as fine as Flanders lace.” It is terminated by the noble east window, formerly filled with “baken” glass, fragments of which have been found in the earth below. This part of the building was the burial place of several illustrious persons, amongst whom may be mentioned King Alexander II., whose polished marble gravestone may still be seen; Douglas, the hero of Otterburn; Will Douglas, the Dark Knight of Liddesdale; and the heart of King Robert Bruce. There is also a tomb inscribed “Orate pro anima Ivoors de Corbir coq,” supposed to have been the English commander at Ancram Moor; and another which is popularly said to be the tomb of Michael Scott, the Necromancer.

The south transept still retains its ribbed and groined roof, the groins supported by contorted figures; the capitals of the pillars carved with wreaths of flowers, and one keystone representing three hunting horns. On the western side is a turnpike stair, of seventy-four steps, leading to the outside of the roof, with galleries leading to other parts of the building. “It is much admired by strangers, the roof of it winding like a snail-cap above the entrance.” Above the door is a representation of a compass, with an inscription—

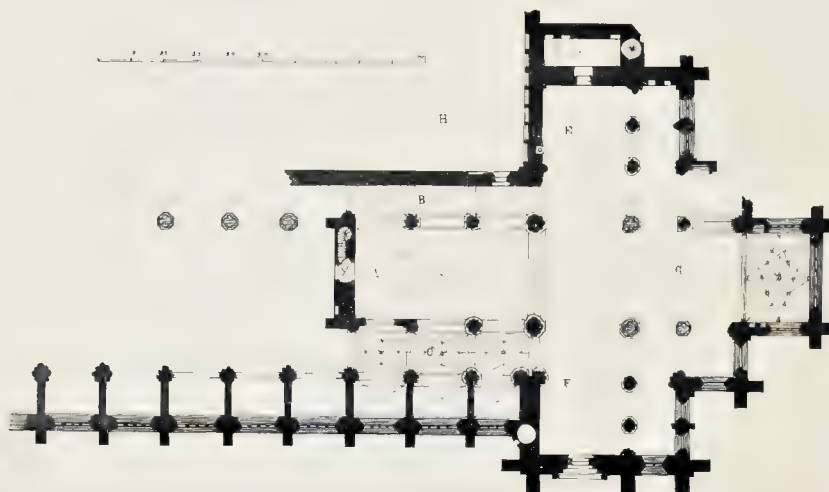
“So gayes the compass ev’n about,
So truth and laute do but doubt;
Behold the end.”—JOHN MURDO.

And on the south side—

“John Murdo sum tyme callet was I,
And born in Parysse certainly;
And had in keeping all Masom werk
Of Santandroys, the hye kirk
Of Glasgu, Melros, and Paslay,
Of Nyddysdayle, and of Galway;
Pray to God and Mary baith,
And sweet St. John, keep this holy kirke from skaith.”

The north transept is roofless. On the west side, backing the cloisters, are statues of St. Paul, with a sword in his hand, and St. Peter, with his keys and a book; and at the north end, which is windowless, is a range of fourteen pedestals in recesses, which formerly had statues. There is also a circular window in the wall representing the crown of thorns. On the north wall is an inscription, “Heir lyis the race of ye hous of Zair.” Above the

capital of the central pillar is a hand holding a bouquet of flowers, and serving as a bracket to support the groin, which is much admired for the delicacy of the chiselling. There is but one row of pillars in the transept, forming only an eastern aisle; on the west is a dead wall with traces of the stairs leading to a vault discovered in 1730, which was the hiding place for the valuables of the abbey, when a visit from freebooters was expected, the entrance to which was by the ingenious contrivance of moving the bottom step. Beyond the transept, on the north, was the wax-cellar where the tapers and candles were kept for burning at the altars, especially those of the Virgin and St. Waltheof.



GROUND PLAN OF MELROSE ABBEY.

- | | |
|----------------|--------------------|
| A. Nave. | E. North Transept. |
| B. North Aisle | F. South Transept. |
| C. South Aisle | G. Choir. |
| D. Cellar. | H. Cloisters |







FROM THE WEST.

The Augustinian Priory of Bolton.



AMONG the many beautiful valleys and dales of Yorkshire, Wharfedale reigns pre-eminent for picturesque scenery in all its varied elements of rugged grandeur, Claude-like loveliness, and sylvan beauty; three distinct styles of natural scenery, which present themselves respectively in the upper portion, amid the towering hills and rocky crags on the borders of Westmoreland; in the central portion, for a distance of twenty miles, which is Wharfedale proper; and in the lower part, where the river, which gives its name to the valley, falls into the Ouse near Cawood. Difficult too would it be to find its superior, scarcely its equal, in England; a fact which Turner knew and appreciated, with whom it was a favourite sketching ground. When a mere lad, Walter Hawkesworth Fawkes, Esq., of Farnley Hall, perceiving his talent, invited him down to his Wharfedale seat, and thither he went again and again, frequently staying for some weeks, and diligently using his pencil, "until he had painted every tree and rock thereabouts." Ruskin says,—“In the valley of the Wharfe his genius first fairly flowered; in his last years he could never speak of the valley and the welcome he found at Farnley without emotion. For months together he would go wandering about the hills and

vales sketching. Many of these sketches are in the Liber Studiorum, and a vast number in the National Collection." In another place he says that "the scenery he can most definitely trace throughout Turner's works is that of Yorkshire. The Yorkshire pictures have the most heart in them; it is by these broad wooded steepes and swells of the Yorkshire downs that we in part owe the singular massiveness that prevails in Turner's mountain drawing, and gives it one of its chief elements of grandeur."

The river Wharfe has its rise in the mountainous region of north-west Yorkshire, forming itself into a rivulet at the foot of the lofty Cam, from a number of streamlets which come trickling down the hill sides. It passes along through a narrow valley for eight miles to Stake Fell, receiving contributions from other hill sides as it passes along, until it reaches Kettlewell, where it receives the drainage of the large mountain Wharfedale, and two miles beyond unites with another stream nearly equal in size to itself—the Skirfare. It has now entered the valley to which it gives its name, and rushes along to Appletrewick through a wild and rugged country, sometimes where it has room to expand its breadth, placidly and gently; at others along ravines cut out of the solid rock, boiling and seething round boulders and angles of rock, hurrying down rapids, and falling down the precipitous sides of high rocks. As it approaches Grassington it is fifty yards broad, when it suddenly contracts, and passes for forty yards along a chasm, the brinks of which are not more than five feet apart, with a roaring sound that can be heard for a considerable distance. Twenty-three miles from its birthplace it enters a magnificent amphitheatre of high hills, with a plain of from one to two miles in width on each side, beautifully wooded with noble trees up the slopes of the hills, and scattered groupings on the level, and with every other appliance of fairy-like scenery, stretching for a distance of twenty miles past Ilkley, and Otley, and Tadcaster, after which the scenery is of a more level and pastoral character, until the river is absorbed by the Ouse.

In that central amphitheatre stand the ruins of Bolton Priory, and not far off the ruins of Barden Tower, whilst five miles to the south-west of Bolton stand on a precipitous rock the remains of the once formidable castle of Skipton, which was so intimately associated with Bolton all through its career, the lords of the castle having been its founders, benefactors, and protectors, and at all times closely connected with it by friendly and spiritual communication during life, and making it the place of their repose in death.

The extensive demesne of Skipton, spreading over Craven, and embracing the whole of the valley of the Wharfe, was, before and after the Conquest, held by Eadwine, Earl of Mercia, the seat of his lordship being situated at Bolton. He and his brother Morkere, Earl of Northumbria, were two of the most powerful nobles of the land at that period. When Harold was at York after his victory at Stamford Bridge, he heard news of the landing of William, Duke of Normandy, and hastened southward to meet him, Eadwine and Morkere undertaking to raise bodies of troops in their earldoms and join him; but they lingered on the road to watch the turn of events, and then declare for the victor. When information reached them of the defeat and death of King Harold at Senlac, they went and tendered their submission to the conqueror, who, in return, allowed them to retain their lands. Afterwards, however, they became implicated in the Yorkshire insurrection of Gospatric, and their estates were confiscated.

The king made a grant of Skipton and Wharfedale to Robert de Romillé, a Norman adventurer who had followed him to England, who—the house at Bolton lacking the necessary element of strength—built a castle at Skipton, as the *caput baronium*. He placed it on the brow of a precipitous rock, whose base was two hundred feet below the battlements. It was of prodigious strength, with walls from nine to twelve feet in thickness, and impregnable, excepting through treachery. Nothing remains of it excepting the western doorway; but of some after additions there may still be seen seven round towers, connected by oblong galleries. In the Civil War it held out for the king longer than any other northern castle, not being

surrendered until December, 1645. He erected also a church at Skipton, some remains of which still exist in the south wall of the nave of the existing church. He had issue two sons, both of whom died young, and a daughter Cecilia, his heiress, who married William de Meschines, second son of Ranulph, Earl of Chester, by a niece of Eadwine of Mercia, whose forfeited lands thus came back to his great nephew.

In the year 1120, William de Meschines, feudal Baron of Skipton, *j. u.*, and his wife Cecilia, founded at Embesea, Embeshay, or Emshaw (the modern Embsay), one mile and a half distant from their castle, a house of canons regular of the order of St. Augustine (recently introduced into England), in honour of the Virgin Mary and St. Cuthbert, which they endowed with the vil of Emmesay, the hagh and all the premises of Aspiche, the churches of Skipton and Carleton, and all the land in the territory of Stratton; and further, in her widowhood, Cecilia made a grant of the Lordships of Childerwick (Kildwick), Harewood, and Singlesden, and the church of Kildwick, to the canons, to pray for the souls of her husband and two sons.

What sort of building the priory was we know not, but it would undoubtedly be built in the later Norman, or transition style from the Normanesque to the Early English. In the beginning of the present century the site came into the possession of a Mr. William Baines, who built a mansion there, in what seems to have been the cloister quadrangle, as when the excavations were made for the foundations, relics of the priory church were discovered, as well as some ancient graves, when levelling the grounds for the garden.

The Augustine canons differed in many respects from the Benedictines and the various orders of monks who ramified from that parent stem. Their order was based on the communal life of the Apostles, their two great principles being living in common, and holding no personal property. They were styled canons because they regulated their lives by the canons of the New Testament, and held an intermediate position between the regular monks, who obeyed the rules drawn up by St. Benedict, or other founders of an order, and the secular canons, who were regulated by the canons of the church. They had less freedom and personality than the latter, and less austerity, with more individuality, than the former.

St. Augustine, from whom the order takes its name, was born A.D. 354, at Tagaste, in Numidia, the son of pious Christian parents—Patricius and Monica. He was educated at Madaura and Carthage, being intended for the ministry, but instead of applying himself to the necessary studies, he spent his time in reading "poetical fables, and was much taken up with the adventures of Æneas. He charged his memory with that prince's misfortunes, when at the same time he forgot his own; and lamented the death of Dido, who murdered herself for love of that Trojan, instead of bewailing the miserable death he gave himself, by filling his head with these follies." At this time he led a very dissolute life, which was a source of deep grief and much prayer on the part of his mother, and in his eighteenth year he had a son, "the offspring of his sin," whom he called Adevtatus. He embraced the Manichean heresy, a cause of ceaseless mourning and tears to his mother, but she was comforted at last by a vision from Heaven, when she was told that he would become in the end a shining light of the church. When he had completed his education he became successively a teacher or professor of rhetoric at Tagaste, Carthage, Rome, and Milan. At the latter city he became intimate with Archbishop Ambrose, through whose conversation and teaching he was led to see the errors of Manicheanism, and became a catechumen of the Catholic Church. He says himself that all this time he was striving after holiness, but could not attain it, the love of unhallowed pleasures still clinging to his heart, until one day sitting under a fig tree, with St. Paul's Epistles in his hand, and tears streaming down his cheeks, he heard a voice from Heaven, saying, "Take and read." He opened the book, and the first passage which met his eye was "Let us walk honestly as in the day, not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying. But put ye on Christ Jesus, etc." "Upon which a divine light shot through my heart; and I found myself in wonderful repose,

which dispelled all the doubts and irresolutions that had given me so much trouble."

He continued his professorship to the end of the term, and then resigned, and with a few young men of like mind, agreed to form a religious society, with the object of attaining a life of perfection; to live in common; with Monica to look after their household. It was arranged to establish it in Africa, and they went to Ostia for embarkation, but before that took place Monica fell sick and died.

They went to Tagaste, where Augustine sold all his estate and inheritance, and gave the proceeds to the poor. They then went to a solitary spot near the city, where they spent three years "in continual watching and prayer, like that of the monks of Egypt." Valerian, Bishop of Hippo, hearing of his holy life, sent for him, and notwithstanding his objection, on the score of unworthiness, urged with tears, ordained him Priest, and gave him a portion of his



FROM THE NORTH.

garden whereon to build a monastery, "whence and from that of Tagaste proceeded many of his disciples, who filled Afric with monasteries." His rules were simple;—they were to live in common, and in poverty, and to emulate the lives of the Apostles. In 395, much against his will, he was consecrated Bishop of Hippo, when he took into his palace all the priests, deacons, and sub-deacons to live with him in common, "as did the primitive christians," a sort of secular monastery, in which all fared alike, all were equal, and no one owned the possession of anything; everything belonging to the community. He died after a long and useful episcopate in 430, his writings testifying to his zeal, his pastoral watchfulness, his humility, his love of God and the poor, and of the interests of the church. His body lay at Hippo until 504, when the African Bishops were banished by Trasamond, King of the Vandals, who carried it with them to Sardinia, where it remained until the Saracens overran the island, when Luitprand, King of the Lombards, purchased the relics at a great price, and conveyed them first to Genoa, and then to Pavia, where he built a church—"St. Peter of the Golden Haven"—in which to enshrine them.

From a quotation given above we find that Augustinian monasteries spread rapidly over

Africa during the life and soon after the death of the founder, but it was some time before they took root in Europe. Although these early canons acted upon the rule of St. Augustine, as deduced from his one hundred and ninth epistle, they did not take upon them the solemn vows until the twelfth century, nor assume the designation of "Canons Regular of St. Austin" until in the Lateran Council of 1139, Pope Innocent II. ordained that they should all submit to the rule of St. Augustine, as set forth in his one hundred and ninth epistle, so that all previous to 1105 must be considered as seculars. At that period the canons of collegiate churches were called "Canonici Regulari," to distinguish them from ordinary secular priests. By the Greeks all, whether priests, monks, or nuns, were called canons and canonesses, to denote persons whose names had been entered in the canon, matricula, or catalogue of an ecclesiastical or monastic community.

In the middle ages a lengthy dispute arose between these canons and the clergy, as to precedence in respect of priority of their establishment, which enlisted the pens of a great



FROM THE EAST.

number of learned men, but the question was settled by the bulls of Popes Eugenius IV., Benedict XII., Pius IV., Sixtus IV., and Pius V., and by the Councils of Thionville and Meaux; by all of whom the order was recognised as being older than the priesthood, as the sacerdotal power was only conferred at the Last Supper, when the Apostles were authorised to consecrate the sacred elements.

One reason for the assumption of this distinguishing name was that both the clergy and regulars had "relaxed their discipline, sunk into the filth of incontinency, and obtained their benefices by such an infamous simoniacal way of traffic," that a council, held in 1062, directed an epistle to religious houses, founded on two discourses of St. Augustine, enjoining upon them an observance of his rule. Many declined doing so, and split up into various sections, some observing one rule, some another, whilst those who adhered to the old, simple, apostolic rule of Austin, assumed the name of Augustinians.

Bale says that the order was instituted in England for the first time by St. Birinus at Dorchester, Oxon, *circa* 630 or 640, but these would be seculars; Pamphilus, a writer of not much credit, that the order was established in London in 1059; and Somner, that St. Gregory's, Canterbury, built by Lanfranc, in 1084, was the first home of the canons in England, but these also, Leland says, were seculars, changed to regulars by Archbishop Corbyl. Reyner states that they were introduced into England by Athelwulfus, Confessor to

King Henry I., and that Nostell, in Yorkshire, was their first house, where they settled in 1114. Stow claims Norman, the first Prior of Holy Trinity, London, founded by Queen Maud, as the first canon regular in England, in 1108, but Tanner comes to the conclusion that the first house of Austin Canons Regular was established, probably, in 1105, certainly not later than 1107, at Colchester. Therefore it was very soon after the introduction of the order into England that Embsay was founded, ranking among the earliest of the hundred and seventy houses of the order that subsequently were scattered over the country. The Benedictines had at this time become very corrupt, and the Cistercians, or Reformed Benedictines, were not introduced until 1129, when the Abbey of Waverley was established, which was the reason why William de Meschines and his wife Cecilia placed their monastery under the Augustinian rule, as being more pure in morals and stricter in discipline than the degenerate Benedictines. When the Augustinians became regulars their rules were more definite, but were still simple compared with those of the Benedictines. Rule 1 ordained that all property was to be given up on entering, and nothing taken away on leaving. Rule 2 prescribed the amount of labour during the day; appointed the psalms to be sung during the services; forbade idle talk and gossiping, and that no one should go on the business of the house without a companion. And rule 3 enjoined the strictest union; the distribution of food and clothing by the superior; attention to Divine Service; and forbidding offensive gestures or acts, or looking at women; also enjoining unqualified obedience to the superior, and prohibiting altogether quarrels or lawsuits.

When William de Meschines died he left Cecilia a widow, with an only daughter, Alice, the heiress of the Honour of Skipton, her two sons, Ranulph and Matthew, having died young. Alice, who appears to have assumed and retained after marriage her mother's maiden name of De Romillé, married William Fitz Duncan, nephew to King David I. of Scotland,—St. David, the founder of Melrose Abbey,—and had issue William, who died young; another called "The Boy of Egremont," from the place of his birth in Cumberland; and three daughters, her co-heiresses, the surviving boy being the pride and hope of her life. One beautiful summer's morning the Lady Alice, then in her widowhood, sat in her sombre hall at Skipton, the walls hung with tapestry, and the floor strewn with rushes. Breakfast of beefsteaks, broiled mutton bones, manchets of bread, and ale, was just over, and she sat down to her embroidery frame, surrounded by her bower maidens, when she fell into a fit of musing on times that were gone, and of those who had passed away to the silent land along with them—her father—her mother, whose love she dearly remembered—her husband and her eldest son—and she gazed with fond affection upon her sole son, who was playing and tumbling about amongst the rushes with a favourite greyhound. He was a noble and high-spirited youth, and, young as he was, passionately fond of field sports, making frequent raids, accompanied by one or more foresters, on the wild denizens of the woods, which spread far and wide over the vales, uplands, and hills around Skipton. "Mother dear," said he, suddenly springing up and snatching a small boar-spear from a corner, "I will go forth to the forest, and bring you home some game for supper; the day is so fine that it is a sin to remain within doors or loiter about the stables." The mother assented, only warning him to take an attendant forester, to be at hand in case he should meet with an animal too much for his strength.

Fastening his dog to a leash, to prevent his running off after any but such animals as were desired, and calling a forester to follow in his footsteps, and carry home the spoils of the chase, he sallied forth into the depths of the forest, and spent a happy day in the pursuit and capture of game, his dog enjoying it as much as himself. Towards sundown he turned his steps homeward, leading his dog by the leash, and followed by the forester, laden with the materials of the evening supper, which he, as well as his young master, anticipated with that relish which hunger and the fatigue of a day spent in the woods can alone impart.

It was evening, and the Lady Alice again sat in her hall; the embroidery frames had been laid aside; service had been attended in the Priory Church, and she was now occupied in reading an illuminated manuscript of the "Life and Miracles of St. Augustine," seated in the embrasure of a window. Ever and anon she cast her eyes outward towards the forest, wondering what should keep her boy so long, and fearing that he must have been lost in the depths of the wood. The sun went down, and the shadows of night began to creep over the woodland, and she began to experience some anxiety, when suddenly she perceived a figure emerge from the midst of the trees, and as he approached with faltering step, she saw that it was the forester who had gone forth with her boy in the morning, and who was now returning alone. This roused her apprehensions to a vivid state of alarm, but she had scarcely time to form any conjectures as to the cause of his thus returning, when he came into her presence, with downcast eyes and terror-stricken aspect. "What is it, man?" enquired the Lady Alice, hurrying towards him, "Where is my boy; what has become of him?" The forester replied, with a trembling tongue, "What is good for a bootless bene?" (useless prayer) to which she answered, guessing that he was the bearer of some dreadful tidings, "Endless sorrow."

The river Wharfe, after coming rushing and roaring down from the mountainous district of the north-west, on entering the widening vale of Bolton, suddenly contracts in width, and in the course of untold centuries has cut itself a way through the rock, to a great depth, at the bottom of which the torrent dashes along with great velocity and perturbation, and a roaring sound that can be heard for some distance. In one place the sides of the chasm are not more than four feet apart, and is there called the Strid, because a tolerably agile person might stride or rather leap across. Young Romillé had crossed it in this way hundreds of times, and in the morning of this day had passed over as agile as a deer; but on his return, when leaping across, his dog, which he held in leash, did not make the spring at the same time, and failing to reach the opposite bank, the poor youth was precipitated to the bottom, and swept away by the torrent. The forester hastened down the stream, but could see nothing of him where the river emerged from the chasm, and lingered about for a long time, until all hope failing, he bent his steps to the castle, and told his mournful tale to his lady. Accustomed as ladies were in those times to wars, bloodshed, and the death of relatives on the battlefield, she did not shriek or fall fainting on the floor, as modern ladies would do. She simply said, with grief-stricken plaintiveness, "Then many a poor man shall be my heir." Search was made for the body, but it was never found from that day to this.

This event was popularly said to have been the cause of the translation of the Priory from Embsay to Bolton, and that the spot was fixed at Bolton as being within a mile of the spot where the boy met his death; but Whitaker says that young Romillé's name appears on the deed of translation, from which it would appear that it had been determined upon before his death, and the probability is that it had not taken place, and that it was in consequence carried out with greater splendour, and more benefactions for the benefit of his soul.

The catastrophe has formed a subject for the pens of Wordsworth, Rogers, and many minor poets, and has been sung in many an old ballad.

"When Lady Ailiza mourned
Her son, and felt, in her despair,
The pang of unavailing prayer;
Her son, in Wharfe's abysses drowned,
The noble boy of Egremond;
From which affliction, when the grace
Of God had in her heart found place,
A pious structure, fair to see,
Rose up the stately Priory."

The canons of Embsay had long complained of the bleak and unsheltered situation of

their house, and were anxious to move further down in the valley, where the friendly hills would protect them from the cutting blasts of the north-east winds which penetrated every nook of their Embsay abode. The Lady Alice listened to their complaints, and agreed to the removal, and the question arose as to the new locality. The canons, with a keen eye for natural beauty, fixed upon Bolton, and their patroness gave them the manor in exchange for those of Stretton and Skipdune. The river runs through it in beautiful meanderings, and in the midst, upon a curvature forming a sort of peninsula, on the south side, was a slight elevation, and here the canons determined to build their home. It was surrounded by a park-like expanse, with clusterings of noble trees; to the east was a nearly perpendicular rock, down which fell a cascade from the hills beyond; to the south an expanse of rich pasture-land; to the north "whatever the most fastidious taste could require to constitute a



WEST ENTRANCE.

perfect landscape." On one side an oak wood, with jutting projections of grey rock, on the other a forest of trees, centuries old; and beyond, the rocky and barren uplands of Simon Seat and Barden Fell; vast woods climbing up the distant hills which encircle the amphitheatre, and beyond them Rumbald's or Romillé's Moor, with its garniture of heather and fern.

And here, on this peninsula, and with these surroundings, uprose the stately church and monastic buildings of Bolton Priory. Whitaker says,—“Fountains, as a building, is more entire, more spacious, more magnificent; but the valley of the Skell is insignificant, and without features; Furness, which is more dilapidated, ranks still lower in point of situation; Kirkstall, as a mere ruin, is superior to Bolton, but though deficient in neither water nor wood, it wants the seclusion of a deep valley, and the termination of a bold, rocky background; Tintern, which, perhaps, resembles it most, has rock, wood, and water in perfection, but no foreground whatever.”

The canons lost no time, after the deed of exchange was formally executed, in putting in the foundations and raising the walls of their new home. The first portions to be completed would be their dormitory, refectory, kitchen, cellar, and other indispensable offices, postponing the hospitium, the almonry, the wayfarers' chapel, the scriptorium, and library, until after they were themselves fairly housed. The church occupied eighty years in building, the commencement having been made with the choir, which presents Saxon and Norman features as far as the transept, in the columns, arches, and enrichments, but the great east and the north and south windows are of later date, and have no doubt replaced the earlier lancet windows. The nave, which presents characteristics of the middle or earlier part of the thirteenth century, like most Craven and some other churches, has no south aisle, whilst that on the north is separated from the nave by three pillars, two angular and one circular, which are purely Saxon, and which no doubt belonged to the old parish church of Bolton in the time of Earl Eadwine. The west front was very beautiful, similar to the south transept



WEST FRONT AND TRANSEPT, FROM SOUTH

of York Minster, with three graceful lancet windows, single-shafted columns, and small pointed arches. There was a tower at the intersection of the cross, but it has disappeared entirely, and nothing is known about it excepting that it had a peal of bells. Prior Moyne, or Moone, began a western tower, but got no higher than the roof of the church, when his hand was arrested by the dissolution of the priory. It is a fine specimen of the perpendicular style, with a large traceried window, ornamented buttresses, and a fine central doorway, beneath statues, shields of arms, and other sculptured ornaments. On each side of the entrance to the choir were nine stone seats or canopied stalls for the canons, and further eastward a lower tier of seats, surmounted by a bold cornice and scroll work, for the Conversi. The dimensions of the church were—

		Ft.	In.
Entire length, east and west	. . .	261	7
do. inside	. . .	233	11
do. of Nave, inside	. . .	88	6
do. of Transept, inside	. . .	121	5
Width of Choir, outside	. . .	40	4
do. inside	. . .	30	9
Width of Nave, inside	. . .	31	3
Width of Aisle, inside	. . .	11	7
Diameter of Nave columns	. . .	4	8

The monastic buildings appear to have been all placed on the south of the church.

Abutting on the nave, extending three fourths of the length, was the cloister quadrangle, with two doors opening from the nave and one from the south transept, as well as another leading to a passage running the whole length of the wall of the south transept to the octangular chapter house, which lay beyond. South of the quadrangle was the frater, with a flight of steps up to it from the south-west corner of the cloister court, and beneath the frater a cellar, probably for beer and wine. Running southward from the remaining third of the nave wall, and westward of the cloisters and frater, are the foundations of a building supposed to have been the hospitium, with an entrance from the south. Running southward from the wall of the chapter house passage are remains of what is supposed to have been the common house, with dormitories for some section of the brotherhood, and extensive foundations and fragments of other unknown buildings; the kitchen, where the schoolmaster's house now stands, and the refectory, would be in the same vicinity, on the east side of the inner quadrangle. The cemetery was on the north side of the church, and probably the infirmary would be in the same locality, apart from the residential buildings. The prior's house stood eastward of the church, distinct from the other buildings, and had attached to it a fine banquetting hall, chapel, stables, and apartments for his *garçones* or serfs.

The close was surrounded by a wall, traces of which may be seen, but its extent is not known. The entrance was on the west side by a noble castellated gateway, of the later Gothic style, with a wide central archway and several rooms. It was the place of deposit for the records, charters, and other documents of the priory, and being left untouched by the hand of the spoiler at the Reformation, has come down complete and entire. The Duke of Devonshire, to whom the property belongs, has, by walling up the vaulted archway, converted it into a noble dining-hall, and by lateral additions has made it a residence of considerable size, to serve as a hunting seat for himself and his guests.

The chapel for travellers stood on the bridge over the river, where service was performed by the canons for the benefit of passers by. It was built in 1314, by Eva de Laund, supposed to have been the mother of the prior of that name.

The priory was originally subject to the priory at Huntingdon, but was discharged by Pope Celestine III., some time between 1191 and 1198.

The Lady Alice left three daughters, her co-heiresses—Cecily, who married, first, Alexander de Gerin, and secondly, William le Grosse, Earl of Albemarle, and Lord of the Seignior of Holderness, to which family she conveyed the Honour of Skipton. Amabil, who married Reginald de Lacy, having for her portion of the inheritance the lordship of Coupland, in Cumberland, which came through her grandfather, William de Meschines, and of which the castle of Egremont was the *caput baronium*, whence her brother, who was drowned in the Strid, took his name. And Alice, who married, first, Gilbert Pipard, and secondly, Robert de Courtney. The descent and intermarriages of the Romillés, De Meschines, and Fitz Duncans are rather confused; Dugdale, Burke, and other genealogists, giving conflicting pedigrees, but the above, with that before given, appears to be tolerably correct, as far as can now be known.

William le Grosse and Cecily had issue Hawise and Amicia, the former of whom succeeded to the earldom, the seignior, and the Honour of Skipton. She married, first, William de Manderville, Earl of Essex; secondly, William de Fortibus; and thirdly, Baldwin de Betun. She was succeeded in her honours and estates by her son, William de Fortibus, and he by his son William, who left an only daughter, Aveline, the greatest heiress in the kingdom, Countess of Albemarle, Lady of Skipton and Holderness, and heiress through her mother of the Earldom of Devon and the Sovereignty of the Isle of Wight. Being a minor, she was placed by King Henry III. under the guardianship of his son, Prince Edward (afterwards King Edward I.), who alienated the barony of Skipton, in 1269, to Alexander II. of Scotland, for the sum of £1,500, but it does not seem to have passed, as Aveline conveyed it by marriage to Edmund Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster, through whose son, Thomas, who was

beheaded at Pontefract for treason, the honour escheated to the crown, and was granted by Edward II. to his favourite Gaveston, and after his death to the De Cliffords, afterwards Earls of Cumberland, who held the barony five hundred years, with the exception of a short period of attainder.

In this long succession of barons and ladies of the Honour of Skipton, during which, until the De Cliffords came into the possession of it, it was constantly passing from family to family, through heiresses, all of whom, excepting, perhaps, Piers Gaveston, were patrons, friends, benefactors, and in intimate communion with the canons of Bolton. Foremost among the benefactors were William de Meschines and Cecily his wife, William Fitz Duncan and Alice his wife, and Isabel de Fortibus. Besides whom were John de Eston, who gave them the Manor of Appletrewick, with all the minerals and tolls; Sir John de Insula, who made them a grant of the church of Harewood; Thomas Bradley and John de Otterburn, who founded a chantry in the church, endowed with lands to maintain a chaplain. Donations and grants were confirmed by several kings; free warren was granted to the prior by Henry III. over Bolton, Kildwick, and thirteen other lordships; a fair at Embsay was granted by Edward I., and one at Appletrewick, with a right of free warren over the lordship by Edward II., which was confirmed by Edward III., etc. They eventually became the lords or owners of manors, estates, and rents, with the privileges, franchises, etc., pertaining thereto, of seventy-two different places, and held the advowson of the churches of Bolton, Skipton, Embsay, Kildwick, Harewood, Long Preston, Carleton, Keighley, and Broughton, to many of which they appointed vicars from the canons of the house, by which means we learn the names of several of the fraternity of Bolton, as follows:—

Vicars of Skipton.

Thomas de Manyngam, 1342—1354; Laurence de Wath, 1354—1369; Thomas de Kydale, 1369—1402; Thomas Ferror, 1402—1415; John de Farnhill, Prior, 1415—1430; Thomas Skipton, 1430—1460; Thomas Boston, Prior, 1460—1477; Robert Law, 1477—1479; Thomas Pillesworth, 1479—1490; Gilbert Mayrden, 1490—1512; Jac. Thorneburgh, 1512—1514; William Blackburn, 1521.

Vicars of Bolton.

John Leedes, 1452—1476; William Fountennes, 1476—1480; John Raynes, 1480—1490; Robert Bingley, 1490—1512; Henry Preston, 1512—1534; Christopher Brodebent, 1534—1556.

Vicars of Long Preston.

Thomas Sallay, 1454—1456; Nicholas Key, 1456—1474; Christopher Wood, 1474—1483; Christopher Lofthouse, 1483—1495; Robert York, 1495—1519; Thomas York, 1519—1521; Thomas Bolton, 1521; Thomas Preston, 1521.

Vicars of Kildwick.

Thomas Colton, 1459—1465; Edward Bradford, 1465—1478; William Britwysall, 1478—1514; Robert Whixley, 1514.

The fraternity consisted of the following members:—

A Prior, who lived in a house apart, with his own household and outdoor servants.

Canons. Full number eighteen, for whom there were stalls in the choir; average number fifteen. They ate together at one common table, and slept in an undivided dormitory.

Conversi. Average number twenty-one; lay brethren, who slept in one common dormitory, and ate with the canons in the refectory.

Armigeri. Gentlemen who were lodged, boarded, and clothed, each with a garcion to wait upon him, for a consideration in money. This class submitted voluntarily to the general rules, but were free to come and go as they pleased.

Liberi Serventes, about thirty in number, within and without the house, who were paid wages at the rate of from three to ten shillings per annum. Amongst these were included the master and second cook, the master brewer, baker, smith, carpenter, hokerius, fagoterius, and ductor saccarium. Besides these there were from seventy to one hundred free servants employed on the farms and at the granges.

Garciones. An indefinite number; serfs, without wages, mere chattels, who were employed on the drudgery of the house, were dressed in the coarsest raiment, and fed, plentifully, but on the coarsest fare. They were furnished with bows and arrows for the chase, and with nets for fishing. Twenty of these belonged to the Prior, one of whom is mentioned as huntsman, and another as page of the stable.

Altogether about two hundred persons were clothed, lodged, and boarded in the house, besides whom there was a constant succession of visitors and daily almsgiving of food to the poor. Of course for so many people the consumption of victuals would be very great; hence we find that the provisions for one year's consumption, which would be about the average quantity, was as follows:—"Sixty-four oxen, thirty-five cows, one steer, one hundred and forty sheep, sixty-nine pigs, three hundred and nineteen quarters of wheat flour, one hundred and



twelve of barley-meal, eighty of oatmeal for pottage, thirty-nine of oatmeal for dogs, four hundred and eleven of oats for horses, six hundred and thirty-six of oats malted for ale, eighty of barley for the same purpose, besides venison, fish, poultry, vegetables, and fruit." We find also from the *Compotus* that in one year there were paid fifty shillings for a dolium of wine at Hull, £6 for two doliums, £7 10s. for three, and £2 16s. 8d. for one. A dolium was a tun of two hundred and fifty-two gallons, which would amount altogether to about eighteen hundred gallons, or eight thousand bottles, the average price of ordinary wine being threepence per gallon.

Foundation day was observed on the Feast of the Assumption, on which occasion a great festival was held. On one of these occasions the bill of fare was three salmon, an esturgeon, two hundred and twenty-five lamprons, three hundred eels, with a proportionate supply of flesh and fowl, pottages, bread, spiceries, fruit, etc., and a plentiful abundance of wine. Minstrels played and sang during the banquet, and whilst sitting over their wine the brethren were entertained by jugglers, acrobats, and story-tellers, alternated with music.

The gifts they distributed were of three classes:—1. Exennia—complimentary presents to kings, nobles, bishops, and persons in authority. 2. Curialities—presents to persons of lower

rank, usually the attendants of noble visitors. 3. Distribution Pauperus—alms to the poor, generally given in grain.

The dress of the canons consisted of a long black robe, with a white rochet over it, and above all a black cloak. They did not wear hoods attached to their cloaks for head coverings, like other monks, but inquisitor-shaped hats; nor did they shave their chins, as was usual with monastics, but allowed their beards to grow, trimming them occasionally to keep them a moderate length.

The garments of the canons, conversi, and armigeri, were made of fine cloth, at three



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shillings per yard, which was purchased at St. Botolph's fair, Boston; those of the novices were made of frieze, and those of the serventes and garciones of a coarse cloth, made of their own refuse wool, which they could not sell. No other material is mentioned for dress but wool and leather, the former for garments, the latter for shoes, girdles, etc.

They grew a great deal of wool on their farms, having on an average two thousand sheep at their various granges, and sold the produce of their clippings at about two shillings and sixpence per stone to the Lombard merchants, who usually paid them in advance for the next year's clip, so that they were always a year in arrears in the matter of revenue.

The garb of the brethren was simple and graceful, as well as useful in durability and protection from the cold; but the vestments used in the celebration of Divine Service, especially on festival days, was of a gorgeous character. In 1572 an inventory was made of the goods and chattels of Skipton Castle, and in that of the "wardropp" was a list of sacerdotal vest-

ments, which had doubtless been removed thither from the vestiary of the priory at the dissolution. Amongst a great many other similar items occur the following:—

"A vestment of whyt and p'ple fustian and russels, w'th the p'cture and image upon the backe of Chryst hangyng upon the crosse.

"A cope of whyt and tawney damaske imbrodered w'th flower de luce and branches of clothe of golde and sylke; and twoo other for Deacon and Sub-Deacon, of whyt damaske and tawney velvett, imbrodered w'th flowers of sylke and golde, all lyned w'th whyt buckram.

"A vestment of changeable colours, of sylke, w'th grene and blewe.

"A very olde vestment of blewe sattan and redd, crost upon the backe w'th branches of flowers.

"A vestment of whyt damaske and cremysye velvett, w'th half-moon and tyretts and a p'cture of Christe upon the backe." (This would doubtless be the vestment of Richard Moyne, or Moone, the last prior, who used the figure of a half-moon as his symbol, and which he introduced into the sculpture of the western tower, which he commenced.)

"An olde vestment of changeable sarsenet, lined w'th blewe lynyn." (This would be like what is now called "shot silk," with the warp of one colour and the weft of another, which flashes with different tints as the light falls upon it.)

"A canabye of changeable sarsenett, fryng'd w'th whyt, yellow, grene, and tawney sylke." (A canopy used in processions.)

"Twoo lytel peace of redd and changeable sylke, having twoo camells of them."

Priors of Bolton, as far as can be ascertained.

REGINALD, 1120. Resigned.

JOHANNES, occurs 1180.

WALTER, occurs 1186.

ROBERT, occurs 1222.

WILLIAM DE DOMFIELD, 1267, presented by the Countess of Albemarle.

RICHARD DE BURLINGTON, cessavit 1274.

WILLIAM HOQ, 1274; March to November.

JOHN DE LUND, 1275; resigned 1330. Prior Lund, or Laund, was an active and energetic man, and ruled the priory during a period of great excitement. He was the builder of the prior's house and chapel, and superintended the erection of the strangers' chapel on the bridge at the cost of his mother. He entertained two kings (Edward I. and Edward II.), and two Archbishops of York (Grenfield and Melton); attended many convocations, and most of the chapters of the order; went twice to Rome, and was summoned to three parliaments—1317 and 1318—as Spiritual Baron by writ. He witnessed the extinction of the Albemarles; the escheat of Skipton to the crown; the rise and fall of Gaveston, Lord of Skipton; and the inauguration of the Cliffords. In later life he was surrounded by misfortune; was driven from Bolton, and saw his flock of canons dispersed by the inroads of the Scots, but survived these calamities, lived many years afterwards, and at length died "in wealth and honour."

THOMAS DE COPPELAY, 1330—1339 or 1340.

ROBERT DE HORTON, confirmed 1340, died 1369.

ROBERT DE OTTELAY, 1369; formerly Sub-Prior.

ROBERT DE GRENE, occurs 1398.

JOHN FARNHILL, resigned 1416. Vicar of Skipton 1415—1430.

ROBERT CATTON, confirmed 1416, died 1430.

JOHN FARNHILL, re-installed 1430.

THOMAS BOTSON, or BOYSON, resigned circa 1456.

WILLIAM MAN, 1456, formerly Sub-Prior: retired with a pension 1471.

CHRISTOPHER LOFTHOUSE, 1471. Vicar of Long Preston 1483—1495.

GILBERT MARSDEN. Suspended by the Archbishop of York for dilapidations and irregularity of life, 1482. Vicar of Skipton 1490—1512.

CHRISTOPHER WADE, 1483; resigned 1495.

THOMAS OTTELAY, 1495, died 1513.

ROBERT MOYNE, or MOONE, last Prior, 1530—1540. He was the builder of the base of the intended western tower of the church, and surrendered the priory.

The Augustine canons were generally a higher class of persons than the Benedictine or Cistercian monks, with more refined tastes and better education. The reasons why they preferred this order were no doubt the less stringent rules, the fewer prayers and penances, the greater freedom, and more leisure in which they were able to gratify tastes of a more secular character. They were essentially gentlemen, and as a body occupied themselves, when not engaged in spiritual duties, in intellectual pursuits, rather than in the more gross, sensual pleasures into which the other orders gradually lapsed. They kept their horses and hounds,

and regularly hunted over their chases and forests, for several of which they held charters of free warren.

In intellectual pursuits the canons of Bolton appear to have devoted themselves to scientific studies rather than to theology and general literature. They were alchemists, astronomers, and astrologers, and in connection with the former would require to have a competent knowledge of chemistry and metallurgy, and appear to have had some empirical acquaintance with the science of healing; but during a period of forty years we find in the *Compotus* only three entries of sums expended on books, namely,—“1298. For gold and colours for illuminating and binding a Missal, 16s. 1305. 30s. for Lombard's *Book of Sentences*. 1310. 6s. for a book called *Vitales Theologie*.”

Although Bolton produced no great writer whose name has come down to us, it had poets and writers of scientific treatises. In the Bolton MSS. are a treatise on the Transmutation of Metals, commencing “Here begynethe a Tretyce of a scyence for to turne all metallis to Silv' & Golde.” A Latin Treatise on Astronomy, in two books. A Treatise on Anatomy, in which the writer, speaking of the fetus, says, “The previte and the lyffe of evy thyng is watur; watur ys that, that is whett in flour; and in the olyve, oyle; and in the tre, the gumme; and in beastys, the fames; and in all tres, the frutt; and alsoe the begynynge off generacyone off mane ys of watur, etc.”

The following is the conclusion of a poem:—

“Now God, in whome all goodnesse ys,
And gyff ev'ry name aftur hys wyll,
Hee grant hus grace, th't wee dow nott mysse,
And aft'r that, lyffe to all hyme tylle:
Soo th't by hys' grace, wee may obteyne,
And the p'fect'ones th't wee may see
That ffor uns one th't crosse was scleyne,
Amen, Jesus, ffor charyte.”

The history of the priory is somewhat meagre; lying remote from the marches of Scotland and Wales, it was not subject to ravages of ferocious invaders, as were Tintern, Melrose, and other border houses. It would doubtless experience some of the horrors of war during the conflict between the Roses, in which the patrons of the house, the De Cliffords, of Skipton, played so conspicuous a part, and when the great battles of Wakefield and Towton took place; but the lives of the canons appear to have passed on usually in a quiet, even, pleasant style, with light duties, converse with the stars, and eager experiments with the crucible. Their period of greatest suffering and disaster appears to have been subsequent upon the ill-omened invasion of Scotland by Edward II., and his defeat by Bruce at Bannockburn, when the Scots made three successive inroads into England, penetrating each time as far as Bolton, and leaving behind them on their return a country plundered and laid waste by fire and sword. The first invasion was in 1316, when their cattle and sheep were carried off, and the granges of Embsay, Carleton, Halton, and Stede destroyed. The prior fled to Blackburnshire, and the canons took refuge in Skipton Castle, where also some of the cattle had been driven. In the *Compotus*, the year 1316 occurs as a blank, and in 1317 is an entry,—“Prior's expenses into Blackburnshire before the invading Scots, 20s. 1d.,” and in 1318, “Rebuilding the Grange at Halton, £7 16s. 9d.” The granges at Carleton and Stede were rebuilt the same year. The year 1319 is blank, and in 1320 occurs “For new house at Embsay £6 15s.”

On the second invasion, in 1320, the priory was so completely dismantled that the prior and canons were obliged to disperse, the former going first to Ryther, afterwards to York, the latter to the priories of Nostal, Kirkham, Worksop, etc., five only remaining at Bolton. In the *Compotus* for 1321 are entries of payments “To the Houses of St. Oswald, Wyrksop, and Schelford, for the sustenance of 3 Canons £10 per annum;” “To the House of Kirkham

for the sustenance of 1 Canon 56s. 8d." There are also entries of the expense of the prior's flight, for restoration of damages, etc.

The third visitation of the Scots was in 1321, when the plunder of the priory and the granges, as well as of the farms let to others, was so complete that the canons were reduced to great poverty and distress, and were obliged, besides, to remit the rents of their tenants. Their valuables had been previously removed to Skipton Castle for safety.

In the same year Archbishop Melton made a visitation of the priory, accompanied by a numerous suite and a pack of hounds, which cost the house £23 19s. 5d., an enormous sum in their impoverished condition. And three years after King Edward II. was a guest at Bolton, which cost the priory £10 11s. 7d. He had come into the north to put a stop to



DOORWAY AND ARCH IN CHOIR.

the pilgrimages to the place of execution of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, at Pontefract, which was threatening to grow into an insurrection.

The following are a few other items from the *Compotus*:—

1296. "Expenses on the fabric,"—supposed for the two choir windows,—("pro fenest. vitreis, meremio, &c., ad fabricum eccl. cxvi. iii.")

1297. "Consumed $\frac{22}{3}$ viii (108) qrs. of oatmeal for pottage, and $23\frac{1}{2}$ qrs. for the hounds.

1299. "Presents to guests, £13 4s. 3d.

1300. "Sold 41 sacks of wool for £273 6s. 8d.

"Paid £13 6s. 8d. for a horse.

"Purchased the Manor of Appletrewyk of James de Eshton for £14 & 16d.

"Expenses of Prior to Rome for Appletrewyk Bull £34 13s.

"Sold wood-loppings of the forest for 6s.

1301. "Stock: 713 horned cattle; 95 pigs; 91 goats; 2193 sheep." The priory had two large sheep-farms—one at Malham, the other at Nussay, on the edge of Knaresborough Forest, with folds, pens, wash-pits, and other appliances; with bercaries, who lived in lodges near the sheep-runs. The leaders of the flock had bells, and there occurs an entry, "For barne-cloths (shearing-aprons) and bells, 3s. 11d."

1303. "6s. 8d. to the King's porter to allow the wains to return from Scotland," (which had been impressed for the king's service in the Scottish war).

1305. "Paid £4 5s. for renewal of the Charter of Embsay fair.

"For rebuilding the bridge at Kildwick, £21 12s. 9d.

1306. "For the enlargement and repair of Skipton Church, £2 4s. 8d." (There is also an entry this year relative to the wolves of the forest, from which it would appear that they were not altogether extinct in Craven so recently as this).

1307. "Paid 40s. for a Doctor to attend Prior Land." (An enormous fee, but perhaps he paid several visits, and probably would have to come from York).

1310. "10s. 8d. for a Heron and other fowls against the coming of the Lady Clifford.
 "Eaten this year 147 stone of ewe-milk cheese.
1313. "For 10 lampreys of Naunt (Nantes) against the coming of the Lady Clifford, 9s. 6d.
 "For 2 swans given to Thomas Earl of Lancaster, 11s.
1314. "Received of Eva de Land £6 13s. 4d. for the bridge of Bolton, now being rebuilt.
 "Sarcophagus for Lord Robert Clifford, in the Church, 11s. 10d." (He was slain at Bannockburn).
1317. "Prior's expenses at the installation of the Archbishop of York (Will. de Melton) £2 3s. 8d.
 "Vestures of 14 Canons £9 6s. 8d.
1323. "Recd. for the manumission of a serf of the house, £4."
 In every year there occurs an entry of expenditure "apud Sanctum Botolphus" (the fair at Boston) for groceries, cloth, wine, and other articles of household use.

The great and illustrious family of De Clifford, Lords of Skipton, and intimately connected with Bolton Priory, were descended from the Dukes of Normandy, William de Ponce, Earl of Arques and Thoulose, coming to England with his nephew, William the Conqueror. Richard Fitz Pontz, his third son, married Maud, daughter and heiress of Ralph de Tonei, Tenure Baron of Clifford Castle, in the county of Hereford, whose son assumed the name of De Clifford on inheriting the maternal estates, and was father of "Fair Rosamond," the mistress of King Henry II. Robert, his descendant, was summoned by writ as Baron in 1299, and through his mother Isabel, daughter of Robert de Vipont, inherited estates in Westmoreland, and the Sheriffdom of the County. He was a man of great military prowess in the Scottish wars, and for his services had a grant of the Honour and Castle of Skipton on the death of Piers Gaveston. He was slain at Bannockburn, and buried in Bolton Priory.

Roger, his son, second Baron, was implicated in the insurrection of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, captured at Boroughbridge, and condemned to death, for treason, but eventually pardoned, although some authorities say he was executed at York in 1327; nevertheless his estates were confiscated.

Robert, his brother, succeeded as third Baron, had a restoration of the estates; succeeded on the death of his grandmother to the feudal Barony of Vipont, and rebuilt a portion of Skipton Castle.

Robert, his son, fourth Baron, was one of the heroes of Creci and Poitiers, and *d. s. p.* in his minority, 1357.

Roger, his brother, fifth Baron, "one of the wisest and gallantest of the Cliffords," distinguished himself in the French and Scottish wars, and "delighted in repairing and rebuilding his seats." He died in 1390.

Thomas, his son, sixth Baron, a man of great military prowess, was slain in battle, 1392, in Germany.

John, his son, seventh Baron, like all his race, was a notable warrior; fought under Henry V. at Agincourt, and was slain at the siege of Meaux, 1422, having been present also at the sieges of Honfleur and Cherbourg. His body was brought to England, and buried in Bolton Priory.

Thomas, his son, eighth Baron, inheriting the family instinct, passed through life sword in hand, and fell at the first battle of St. Albans, 1455, fighting on the Lancastrian side.

John, his son, ninth Baron, called "Black-faced Clifford," was constantly engaged in the War of the Roses. After the battle of Wakefield he murdered the boy Duke of Rutland, son of Richard, Duke of York, who had fallen in the battle, in revenge for the death of his father at the hands of the Yorkists. The same year he was killed by an arrow-shot, when stooping to drink from a rivulet at Castleford; and the decisive battle of Towton following immediately afterwards, which placed Edward IV. on the throne, he was attainted, and the lordship, manor, and castle of Skipton given to Sir William Stanley, husband of Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother of the future Henry VII., and in the 10th. of the same reign transferred to the Duke of Gloucester, afterwards King Richard III.

Henry, his son, tenth Baron, "The Shepherd Lord," was a child when his father died,

and his mother, fearing the vengeance of the Yorkists, concealed him for awhile at Londesborough, near York, and afterwards amongst the fells of Westmoreland, where he grew to manhood tending sheep, as the son of a shepherd, and without any education whatever. Meanwhile great changes had been taking place in England. Edward IV. died, and his brother Richard, after murdering his nephews, Edward V. and his brother the Duke of York, usurped the throne, but was soon after killed at the battle of Bosworth, and Henry, Duke of Richmond, who had no legitimate claim to the throne, became king in his stead.

The attainders of the Lancastrians were reversed, and amongst them that of De Clifford, when the Shepherd Lord was recalled from the Westmoreland hill sides to take his place as



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the Lord of Skipton. Conscious of his ignorance and utter unfitness to occupy the position in which he found himself, he shunned society, and lived in retirement, associating only with the canons of Bolton, under whose tuition he became in time a proficient not only in ordinary learning, but in their favourite studies of alchemy, astronomy, natural history, and legendary lore.

Stretching for four miles along the banks of the Wharfe was a range of forest land, where the Lords of Skipton were wont to amuse themselves by hunting the deer, the wild boar, and other animals, and within this forest were six stone-built lodges for the keepers. One of these, Barden,—in the valley of the wild boar,—Lord Clifford enlarged and fitted up as a residence, preferring its quiet seclusion to the dignity, state, and etiquette of Skipton. The upper portion he furnished with such scientific apparatus as was then attainable for observing the motions of the heavenly bodies; and the lower part with furnaces, crucibles, and other

appliances for making experiments in alchemy; and here he spent his days and nights, with one or more of the canons for his companions, in observation and experimentalising. The tower was neglected by the subsequent lords, but was repaired in 1657 by the Countess Anne, and Whitaker saw it entire in 1774, but soon after the lead and timber were removed, and it gradually fell into the picturesque ruin which now lends a charm to the landscape:—

"Most happy in his sky recess
Of Barden's lofty quietness;
And choice of studious friends had he,
Of Bolton's dear fraternity,
Who, standing in this old church tower,
In many a calm propitious hour,
Perused with him the starry sky,
Or in their cells with him did pry
For other lore, by keen desire
Urged to close toil, with chemic fire."

WORDSWORTH.

Thus he passed his life throughout the reign of Henry VII., and by the prudent management of his estates and frugal living became exceedingly rich. In the following reign he came more into public life, and when near sixty years of age was entrusted with a command at Flodden, where he displayed all the martial qualities of his ancestors:—

"From Penigent to Pendle Hill,
From Linton and Long Addingham,
And all the Craven coasts did tell,
They with the lusty Clifford came."

BALLAD OF "FLODDEN FIELD."

Henry, his son, was created Earl of Cumberland in 1525, who in early life led a profligate career, becoming the leader of a band of outlaws, who scrupled not to plunder even churches and monasteries, or to maltreat grossly persons of either sex, or of any age or position, but who became a reformed character in after life. He witnessed the downfall of Bolton, and had a grant of the priory with its adjacent estates as a reward for his loyalty and brave defence of Skipton Castle when beleaguered by the Pilgrims of Grace. He was succeeded in the earldom by his son Henry, whose son George, dying *s.p.m.* in 1605, it passed to his brother Francis, whilst the barony descended to his daughter, a famous woman, who became Countess of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery by marriage. Henry, fifth Earl, succeeded his father, Francis, but dying without male issue in 1643, the earldom became extinct. Through the Lady Anne the barony passed by marriage to the Tuftons, Earls of Thanet; lay in abeyance from 1729 to 1734, when it was terminated, and is now held by the Southwell family.

The priory was surrendered by Prior Moone and fourteen canons, 29th. January, 1539, who were awarded pensions out of the estates, of whom the following were living in 1553:—Christopher Leeds and Thomas Casteley, receiving each £6 13s. 4d. per annum; William Wytkes, with a pension of £6 per annum; Edward Hill, John Bolton, George Richmond, Robert Knaresborough, Thomas Pickering, William Maltham, and John Cromoke, in receipt of £5 6s. 8d. per annum; and Robert Beurdeux, with a pension of £4 per annum.

The income at the dissolution was £302 9s. 3d. gross, £212 3s. 4d. net.

The site was granted, along with the demesnes, to Henry, Earl of Cumberland, for his service, as stated above, in the matter of Aske's rebellion, in whose family it remained until the death of the last earl in 1635, when it passed, by the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth, to Richard Boyle, first Earl of Burlington, who was created Baron Clifford of Lanesborough (Londesborough). His grandson Richard, third Earl of Burlington and fourth Earl of Cork, died without issue male in 1753, when the Earldom of Burlington and the Barony of Clifford of Lanesborough expired, and Bolton passed to the Cavendishes by the

marriage of his sole surviving daughter, Charlotte Elizabeth, who married William, Marquis of Hartington, who succeeded as fourth Duke of Devonshire in 1755. Through a mistake there was created a second Barony of Clifford by writ of summons in 1628, besides the Barony of Clifford of Lanesborough, by patent in 1644, so that there were three Baronies of Clifford existing at the same time: the first, of 1299, now held by the Southwells; the second, of 1628, now held by the Dukes of Devonshire; whilst the third, of 1644, is extinct.

The arms of the priory were: Gu. a cross fleury potent, counterpoint ar. and az. The seal represented the Virgin Mary, seated, with the Infant on her lap, and the legend "Sigillum Sancte Marie de Bolton."

Nathaniel Johnson, M.D., the physician and antiquary, whose collections were made use of by Burton in the compilation of his *Monasticon Ebor.*, visited the ruins of the priory in 1670, and thus describes them:—"The priory church is made in form of a cross, the steeple in the middle. The cloisters, confessor's house, lodgings, etc., are upon the south side. A small square court was on the west side of these cloisters, and great buildings west of that court, both ends adjoining the priory church. There stands a stately square building, a little to the westward, which was the gatehouse of the priory. The river runs eastward of it, and across it there is a prospect of a steep rock. At the west end there was a late erection of a steeple, which seems to lengthen the body of the church, and covers the old front. Upon the entry of this new erection, over the door, is carved on a verge, all along, 'In the year of our Lord MCCCCXX., R. and a crescent moon, (signifying Richard Moon, of the Moon family of Hazlewood,) began this foundation, to whose soul God have mercy. Amen.' Underneath this are many escutcheons, without any arms upon them, only upon the right side of the north part of the front are the Clifford arms, and on the other side is a cross formée.

"Entering within the door we see that the steeple was never finished, the monastery being surrendered before it was complete. Passing across the steeple we entered into another door, being the old door, before this new erection; and so into the body of the church, which is ruinous, and all the upper windows are closed with wood. There is one statue now leaning against the wall, representing the Lady Romeli. Upon the north side of the choir of the Claphams, there is a vault for setting bodies erect in.

"In the first order of the north side: Arg. three greyhounds courant S. collared of the first. In the second order: Arg. five fusils in fess, or., charged with as many roses. In the third order, the arms of England, and g. a fess between two greyhounds courant, arg. On the south side, first, England and Nevil's arms, and arg. a cross or. saltire, g. and g., a cross formée and vary, arg. and az. The second order: Arg. a lion rampant g. crowned or. in a bordure az. besantée. The third order: Arg. the fusils and rose, old Percy arms. The fourth has nothing, and the fifth contains the Nevil arms.

"The rest of the isle, old steeple, and quire are all ruinous, only at the very end of the quire, on the south side, is a place for four statues, and for a little one more east. These four have five pillars with escutcheons placed, and about the hollow place of the first statue has been on either side bordures with escutcheons; and within the arch at the top is a cross formée between four martlets; and as a crest a key erect; and immediately under the arms of England, and on one side, a lion rampant and bordure of fleur-de-lis; on the other side a lion rampant, plain, holding a battle-axe. In these are two rows, first, a fess between two chevrons; second, upon three piles in chief, as many cross-crosslets fitché; third, six annulets—three, two, and one; fourth, a fret of six pieces; fifth, five fusils in fess, old Percy; sixth, a bend and file, and three points surmounted; seventh, a barrée of eight, and upon it three chaplets.

"In the other row, first, three lions passant; secondly, three lions passant in a bordure of fleur-de-lis; third, a lion passant and a bend surmountée; fourth, a fess betwixt three

rocks; fifth, the field with fleur-de-lis and lyon rampant; sixth, upon a fess, three escallops betwixt five fleur-de-lis, two in chief and two in bass; seventh, three lucies in pale. There are other escutcheons on the other side, but no arms upon them.

"On the outside of the next arch is a plain cross; on the other side are the arms of England, and betwixt the two arches, on a little pillar, a lyon rampant. Upon the next the cross formée, and four martlets; and on the other side is a horse trapped. Upon the next arch three crowns; on the one side three legs meeting; on each heel is a spur within a bordure engrailed, being the arms of the Isle of Man; on the other side a cross-crosslet, between four small crosslets, being on the west end of it. Over the last order are the arms of Castile and Leon."

For more than four centuries—

"From Bolton's old monastic tower,
The bells rang loud with gladsome power;
The sun was bright; the fields were gay
With people in their best array
Of stole and doublet, hood and scarf,
Along the banks of crystal Wharfe;
Through the vale retired and lowly,
Trooping to that summons holy."

For those four centuries the accents of prayer and praise scarcely ceased within the walls of the church, and the notes of the organ might be heard pealing, with reverberating echoes along the vaulted roof. For those four centuries the disconsolate and afflicted ever found spiritual consolation at the hands of the brethren, whilst no poverty-stricken wayfarer turned away empty-handed from the gate of the almonry, and there was alway a canon in the chapel on the bridge to listen to the confessions, and administer the comforting solace of the Gospel to the passing stranger. But all that has passed away, and for three centuries and a half the shell, reft of its kernel, has lain a desolate but beautiful ruin, the resort of the pleasure-seeker rather than of the penitent; of the antiquary ruminating on the past rather than of the saint speculating on the future. It may be that during these centuries we have made wonderful progress in knowledge, science, and political and social life, and that the religion of the nineteenth century is purer and more in accordance with the teachings of the Scriptures than was that of the fourteenth, but still we cannot help feeling a certain amount of esteem, veneration, and even affection for those men and women who abandoned the pleasures of life to live holy lives in the cloister, and spend their time in acts of devotion, and in attending to the necessities of the poor.

With the exception of the central tower, the shell of the church is almost entire, with the base of Prior Moone's intended western tower, and its fine perpendicular window and doorway beneath, standing beyond the original western front of the church. The nave, with its flat, painted oak ceiling, which is supposed to have been the work of Moone, is still maintained in a state of perfect repair, as the parish church of Bolton, the successor of an ancient Saxon church, and is called the Saxon Cure. The parsonage house nestles under the walls of the priory, and the school-house stands in the cloister court. At the east end of the north aisle is a chantry, and beneath it the vault of the Mauleverers of Beamsley, whose estates came to the Claphams, of Clapham, near Settle, in which the coffins of the dead of both families were placed in an upright position. This has been doubted, but Walbran, the historian of Fountains, states that he had been assured by a descendant of the Claphams that such was the fact, he himself having on one occasion, when the church was undergoing repair, seen them. There were, he said, nineteen coffins all standing upright, those of wood much decayed, but those of lead in a sound condition, and that one of them measured six feet ten inches in length.

"Pass! pass, who will, yon chantry door,
And through the chink in the fractured floor
Look down, and see a grisly sight,—
A vault where the bodies are buried upright.
There face to face, and hand to hand,
The Claphams and Mauleverers stand."

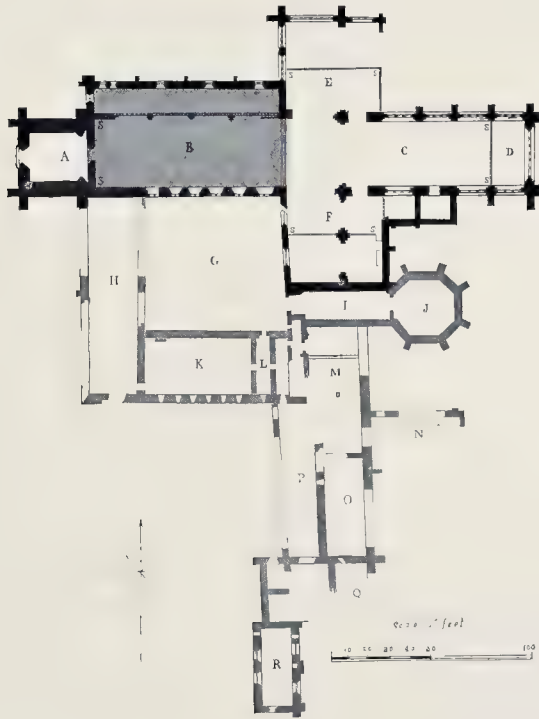
The nave is lighted by tall lancet windows containing some fragments of painted glass, and at the eastern end is a Tudor screen separating it from the choir and transepts.

The choir and transepts are roofless and in ruins, and the whole of the tracery of the great eastern and other windows gone. On the south side of the choir are the remains of a chapel, entered through an ornamented Gothic arch, with what appears to have been a tomb in the centre, and beyond, the entrance to a vault, which extends beneath the choir, and is supposed to have been the burial-place of the Cliffords. On the north side of the high altar is a tomb under a canopied recess, with a brass fillet inscribed in Lombardic characters, of which there only remain the letters NEVI. Within the tomb was found a skeleton, supposed to have been that of Lady Margaret Nevill, respecting whom there occurs the following entry in the *Comptus*:—"1318: De diversis provident venditis ex'or's D'ne Margaret de Nevill ad sepulturam d'ce D'ne £xiii xs. ivd." There is also a grey marble slab, which is supposed to have covered the remains of John Lord Clifford, who was slain at Meaux, 10th. Henry V. In another chapel on the south there was, in 1670, the effigy of the Lady Alice de Romillé, the foundress, in the second degree, of the priory, but it has disappeared since then. Three or four of the sedilia still remain tolerably perfect, and an early English piscina, but very much mutilated.

Outside there are but few remains. The great gateway, having been repaired and enlarged, is still perfect, but the archway has been built up to form a banqueting-hall. The foundations of the Chapter House may still be traced, as may also those of other buildings. The cloisters have disappeared entirely, but in the centre of the court still stands the stump of what has been a noble yew tree, under which the canons were wont to sit. In a field, a little way distant, may still be seen the priory barn. William Howitt, who visited the priory, says, "The ruin, surrounded and mingled with magnificent trees, presents a most exquisite combination of towers, lofty broken arches and gables, with projections and windows of most varied character, draped with ivy, and standing on its low green sward in a noble monastic solemnity. The different portions of the building display every successive style from the Norman down to the Decorated, the final order of Anglo-Gothic. It is evident at a glance that it has been the work of successive hands and successive ages. To comprehend the whole the visitor must examine the details for himself." The "towers" must have been a freak of imagination, for there is no tower remaining, nor one of any description nearer than that of Barden, which could scarcely be considered as belonging to the ruins of the priory.

There is a legend of great beauty and pathos connected with Bolton, which Wordsworth has crystallised in a poem entitled *The White Doe of Rylston*. The Nortons were an ancient family of Norton, near Ripon, whose estates passed to the Conyers family, who assumed the name of Norton. William de Risletun, of Rilston, five miles from Skipton, is mentioned in the first charter of Cecilia de Romillé to the canons of Embsay. His estate passed, by the marriage of a descendant heiress, to the Radcliffe family, and by an heiress of that family to John Norton, of Norton. Richard Norton, his son, High Sheriff of Yorkshire, 1568, had issue by Susanna, daughter of Richard Nevill, second Baron Latimer, eight sons and one daughter Emily, and resided at Rylston. He was a devoted Catholic, and in his old age joined the insurrection of the Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, in favour of Mary Queen of Scots; was taken prisoner with his eight sons, and according to one account they were all executed; but according to another, only one of the sons suffered death, the old man and his other sons escaping to Flanders. However that may be, he was attainted, and

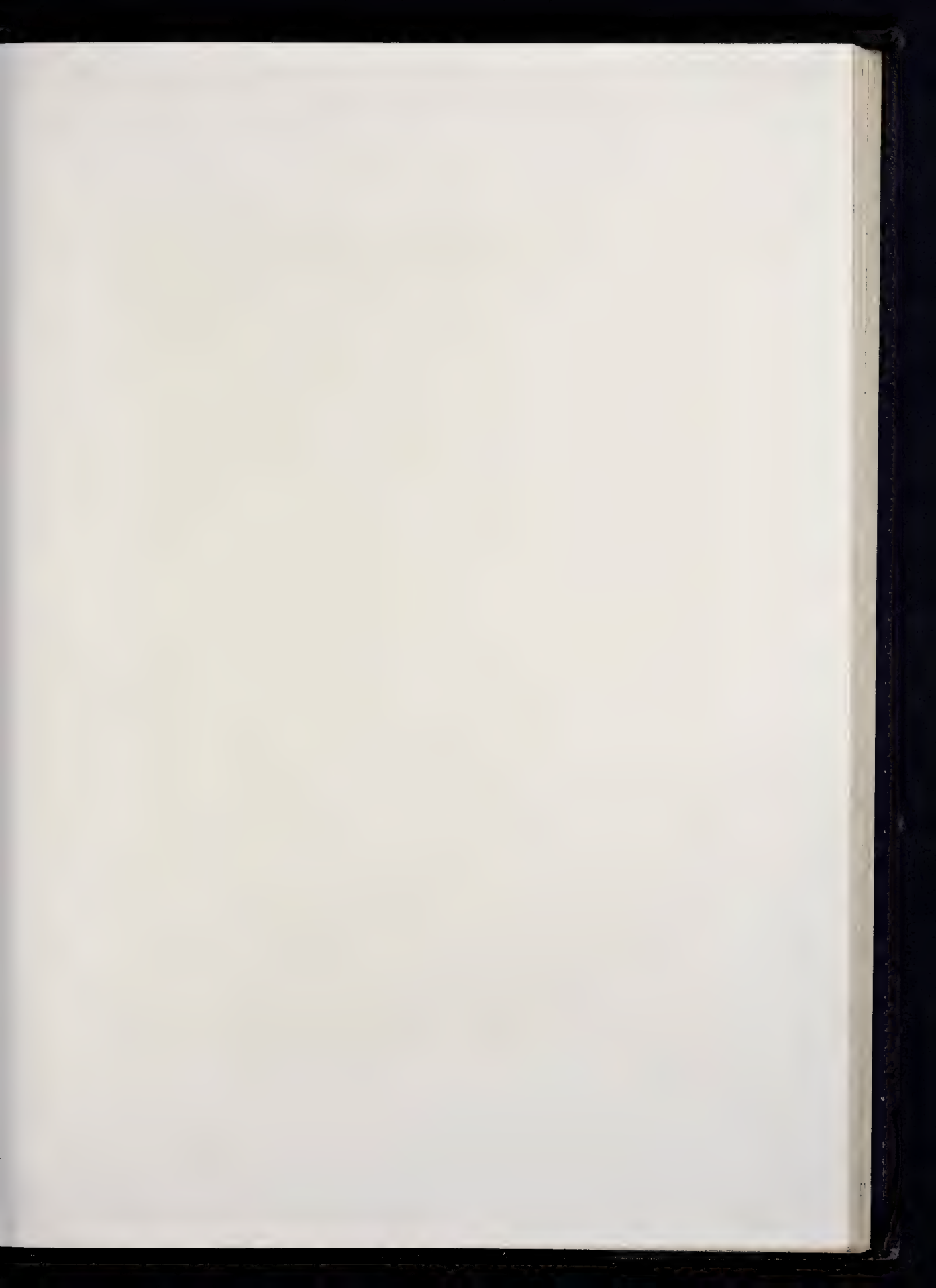
his estates forfeited. According to the legend, when Emily was a child, her brothers had given her a white doe, which she petted, and which as they grew up together, returned her affection, and followed her about like a dog. On the death of her father and brothers she mourned and pined, and soon after died, and was buried in the churchyard of Bolton Priory. The white doe seemed to be grief-stricken at her death, and for years after came every Sunday morning from Rylston to Bolton, stood by her grave during divine service, and when it was over, and the congregation dispersing, went back to the park at Rylston.



GROUND PLAN OF BOLTON PRIORY.

The shaded portion is at present used as the Parish Church.

- | | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| A. Western Tower (unfinsled) | H. Buildings (Servants' Rooms, etc.) | O. Later Addition |
| B. Nave. | I. Passage | P. Passage. |
| C. Clofr. | J. Chapter House. | Q. Drain. |
| D. Altar. | K. Trator. | R. Beyle Room. |
| E. North Transept. | L. Passage. | S.S.S. Mark the plan of Norman |
| F. South Transept. | M. Doree. | Church |
| G. Cloister Court. | N. Doree. | |





ASTONBURY





INTERIOR, FROM THE EAST

The Benedictine Abbey of Glastonbury.



EIGHTEEN centuries, laden with their rebellions, revolutions, and changes of dynasty,—their gradual upgrowth from barbarism and brute ignorance to civilization and refinement of manners,—and their numberless religious conflicts and transference of worship from one deity to another, and from one phase of religious observance to another,—have passed away into the domain of past history, since, in the centre of what is now called Somersetshire, the standard of the Gospel of Jesus Christ was first planted, with sure rootage, in the island of Britain.

The Celtic people, denizens of its vast forests, were then worshippers of the blood-stained god, Hu, whose priests, the Druids, celebrated his worship in the depths of the forest with encircling oaks, and on plains within circles of huge monoliths, representative of trees, offering up hecatombs of human beings, in sacrifice, who were burnt in wicker frames, as the most acceptable mode of sacrifice to their god, who appears to have been identical with Baal, the Sun God. And it was amongst these ignorant and superstitious people that devout men, followers of Him who had so recently died upon the cross at

Jerusalem, came, at the risk of their lives, to make proclamation that there was but one God in the universe—Jehovah, the sole maker of all things that exist, and that Jesus Christ, His Son and co-equal God, had become incarnate, and had suffered death for the transgressions of mankind, that they might not perish, but have eternal life.

There are traditions of earlier apostolic preachings in Britain, and it is possible that some of the itinerant Apostles may have reached this Ultima Thule; but if they did, the effects were evanescent, and no permanent churches established. Simeon Metaphrastes tells us, in his *Comment. de Petro et Paulo*, that the former Apostle preached in Britain, A.D. 37, established churches, and ordained bishops, priests, and deacons; which is repeated by Parsons, the Jesuit, in his *Three Conversions*. Gulielmus Eysingrenius (1566) reports that St. Peter, in a vision *temp.* Edward the Confessor, announced that he had preached in Ireland. But these are without foundation, and were put forth with the intention of making it appear that the British Church was a child of Rome, and not an original Apostolic Church. St. James, the son of Zebedee, is also said to have been one of the evangelizers of Britain, but he was put to death by Herod before the Apostles began to itinerate. St. Paul and St. Simon Zelotes are reported to have visited the island as missionaries; indeed Dorotheus, Bishop of Tyre, says that the latter was martyred in England, in which he is supported by Nicephorus in his *Hist. Eccl.* Aristobulus, one of the seventy disciples, is also spoken of as Bishop of Britain, A.D. 56, but without any confirmatory evidence.

Amongst the British converts, A.D. 63, is mentioned a lady, Claudia Ruffina, who married Pudens, a Roman senator, of whom Martial, in his *Epigrams*, Lib. 4, Epig. 13, writes—

"Claudia cæruleis cum sit Ruffina, Britannis
Edita cur Latine pectora plebis habet?"

* * * * *

Claudia Rufa meo nubit peregrina Pudente
Macte esto tædis, O, Hymenæe, tuis."

It would appear that she went to Rome with her husband, as they are supposed to be identified in the following passage in St. Paul's second Epistle to Timothy, iv. 21:—"Eubulus greeteth thee, and Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren." But all these are vague traditions, and as Fuller says, "It all occurred so long ago, that the British Church hath forgotten her own infancy, and who were her godfathers. We see that the light of the Word shined here, but see not who kindled it."

When we come to St. Joseph of Arimathea we seem to be treading on firmer ground. Although still in the field of tradition, we seem to have got clear to a great extent, of the bogs and morasses which surround our footsteps in the narratives of the earlier missionaries to the island; yet the details are so precise, although encrusted with monkish legend, and the circumstantial evidence so apparent, that we cannot but believe there is some substratum of truth. As Fuller says,—“As for all these” (the earlier legends) “formerly reckoned up, there is, in authors, but a tinkling mention of them, and the sound of their preaching low and little in comparison of those lowd peales which are rung of Joseph of Arimathea. Let the reader, with patience, take the sum thereof extracted out of several authours.”

Joseph of Arimathea was a man of great wealth at Jerusalem, and a member of the Jewish Sanhedrim. He became a disciple of Jesus Christ, was eminent for his piety, and hesitated not to declare himself his follower at the Crucifixion; not only so, but he caused the body of his crucified master to be laid in his own tomb, then newly built. Soon after these events, the Jews banished Saints Philip and Joseph, along with Lazarus, his sisters Martha and Mary, and Marcellus, their maid, by placing them in a boat without sails or oar, and turning them adrift; yet they, being tempest-tossed in the midland sea, at last safely landed at Marseilles.” “A relation,” adds Fuller, “as ill accoutred with tackling as their ship, and which is as unrigged in respect of time and other circumstances.”

Philip, who appears to have been at the head of the company, commenced preaching at Marseilles, and shortly afterwards sent Joseph, with Joseph his son and ten others, on a missionary expedition to Britain, and "propitious winds" wafted the vessel to the shores of the then obscure and benighted isle. "They were led by an invisible hand," and probably landed in Bridgewater Bay, where they found the country desolate and dreary, covered with dense forests, with a leaden sky and fogs overhead, and swamps and morasses underfoot.

The band of missionaries proceeded inland, and came to the court of Aviragus, king or chieftain of the people of that district, where they were hospitably entertained. The king listened to what they had to say about the new religion they purposed to introduce, but "could not be dissuaded from his idolatry." A wise king, too; for it is an important matter to abandon the religion of ancestors for untold generations, and to substitute for the god he had been taught in childhood to reverence and adore, and adopt another of a far-distant country, at the suggestion of a band of wanderers who had been banished from their own land for heresy, without due consideration. Nevertheless he allowed them to settle in his dominion, and was so far favourably impressed with their representations that he made them a grant of twelve hides of land, one for each member of their body, whereon to settle and promulgate their tenets.

The river Brue, in its serpentine course through Somersetshire, in one part forms a peninsula, or rather island, for in the early British times it was separated from the main land by marshes and watercourses, and was called Ynis-witrin, or the Glassy Island, or more probably Glast Island, as *glast*, or *woad*, the herb which the British used for staining their bodies, grew there abundantly. Others say that it arose from the clear blue colour of the waters, coloured possibly by the *glast* through which it flowed. It was also called afterwards the Isle of Avalon, from the apple trees which flourished in great numbers. The Romans, adopting this name, styled it *Insula Avallonia*. By the Saxons it was called *Glasstingabyrig*, which has in later times been modified into Glastonbury. It was here that Aviragus settled Joseph and his companions on the twelve hides of land granted for their maintenance. Collinson describes the domain as "a long, narrow tract of land, which the river Brue (or Brew) traverses lengthwise. The soil is fenny, having formerly been overflowed by the waters of the sea, which retiring, and being excluded by sluices and sea walls, the marshes have from time to time by much industry been drained." The name of "Twelve Hides" is still preserved in that of the hundred, which comprehends what was the monastic home estate, now consisting of nearly fifty thousand acres, but which at the time of measurement by the hide, could only contain from fifteen hundred to two thousand acres.

Rising out of the marshes was a hill, rising to an elevation of five hundred feet above the level of the sea, from whose summit there is a magnificent prospect of one hundred and forty miles in circumference. It seems to have been a British fortress, from the defensive earthworks which are still visible, and moreover is supposed to have been an open-air temple of the Sun God, whose Baal fires were kindled on the top. It obtained the name of Tor or Tower Hill from the tower of St. Michael's oratory, which still ornaments its summit. It lies north-east of the abbey, whilst on the south-west is another much lower acclivity, called Weary-all Hill, from the circumstance that here Joseph and his companions terminated their weary journey when coming to take possession of their territory. And thereunto belongs a famous legend, which, although we repudiate it now-a-days, was implicitly believed in for many centuries, and therefore ought not to be omitted from any history of the abbey.

According to the legend, the saint and his followers, after leaving the court of Aviragus, plodded their way over the wretched uneven trackways, through forests and swamps, the former leaning on his staff which had been his companion all the way from Palestine, until they arrived way-worn and weary-footed at Glast-isle, and ascended the low hill—Weary-all Hill—to look around them upon their territory. It chanced to be Christmas Day when they arrived,

and Joseph striking his staff into the earth, called upon his companions to offer up prayer to God for a blessing on their undertaking, and to His Son, their master, who had come upon earth, and become incarnate to ransom mankind from their transgressions, on that day little more than half a century before. The natives, clad in wolf and sheep skins, and brandishing the rude weapons, gathered round them with ominous gestures, and gazed upon the strangers with curiosity whilst kneeling at their devotions, but did not offer them any outrage. When the company rose from their knees, lo! a miracle: the dry and withered staff which had been stuck in the earth, had sprung into green life, budded, and put forth white blossoms, which



ST. JOSEPH'S CHAPEL, FROM NORTH-WEST.

spread a delicious perfume around. The saint recognising in the miracle a manifestation of Divine favour, exclaimed—

“The miracle we now behold,
Fresh from our Master's hand,
From age to age shall long be told
In every Christian land,
And kings and nations, yet unborn,
Shall bless the Glastonbury thorn.”

For sixteen centuries afterwards it blossomed every year at Christmastide, not exactly on Christmas Day, but near to it, the inaccuracy of the old style and calendar interfering with it, and great confusion being created when the new style was adopted. Slips from the tree and the blossoms, which had a miraculous virtue in the healing of diseased persons, were sold

at enormous prices, and formed an important article of commerce at the port of Bristol. The old tree survived until the civil war of the seventeenth century, when a Puritan soldier cut it down, boasting that he had brought the age of miracles to a close at one blow. Nevertheless, although the parent tree perished, its children, grown from slips, still flourish at Glastonbury and elsewhere, but have degenerated, as they do not bloom at the right time, although they burst into leaf in winter. Even so late as 1753, a concourse of pilgrims went to Glastonbury on Christmas-eve, says the *London Evening Post*, to witness the miracle, but the thorns did not one of them blossom until the 5th. of January.

Legend as this narrative is, it appears to have a basis of truth. There are several species of hawthorn, whose native home is Syria, one of which blossoms twice a year—in winter and



ST. JOSEPH'S CHAPEL, INTERIOR, LOOKING WEST.

spring, the former, in England, resulting in no fruit, whilst the latter comes to perfection. It is possible that one of the missionaries to Britain may have brought with him some haws and planted them at Glastonbury, to remind him of his native land, and that one of them developed into a tree, and blossomed, according to its nature, in midwinter, near Christmas Day. This presented to the monks of after time, when they resorted to artifice for promoting the interests of the church, a favourable opportunity for inventing a miracle, and hence the legend of St. Joseph's staff. There was also another vegetable miracle at Glastonbury—a walnut tree, which it was said always came into leaf on St. Barnabas Day, and thousands resorted thither on that festival to witness the miracle.

Fuller, who lived at the time when the venerable hawthorn was cut down, refers to the variety of opinions respecting it, observing "that whilst the credulous and superstitious believed that it was the veritable staff of Joseph, some who believed in supernatural interpositions, said that God sometimes puts forth such riddles in nature on purpose to pose the pride of men, conceited of their skill in such matters; whilst skeptics asserted that the blossoming was artificially produced by pouring warm water at the root. But some are more uncharitable, who, because they cannot find the reason thereof on earth, do fetch it from hell, not sticking

to affirm that the Devil, to dandle the infant faith of fond (foolish) people, work these petty fears and petty wonders, having farther intents to invite them to superstition, and to mould them to saint worship thereby. But whilst these are wrangling over the cause, some souldiers have lately cut the tree down, and Christmas Day is forbidden to be observed, and so I think the question is determined."

We are informed by tradition that the brethren built a small church, which, by direction of the archangel Gabriel, they dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, encompassing it about with a churchyard, in which church Joseph was buried; and here these twelve lived many years, devoutly serving God, and converting many to the Christian Religion. Fuller doubts this story, on the grounds that we have no authentic records of St. Joseph having visited Britain, that there was not, until long after, burial in churches, churchyards, or worship of the Virgin Mary; adding that, although Bale cites Melkinus, Avalonius and Gildas Albanus, the originals are not extant; and that it is an invention of the monks of later date to invest their house with greater sanctity and antiquity, and to give heavenly authority to saint worship. Yet the Norman charters refer to the Saxon charters, and those to British in which St. Joseph is recognised as the founder of the church.

The first thing the brethren would set about would be to provide habitations to shelter themselves from the inclemency of the weather of this northern land, so different from the sunny skies and genial warmth of their native Palestine. These probably would be separate huts, each on its individual hide of land, and would not take long to build, as they were merely wattled walls with thatched roofs. They would then build their church, constructed similarly, of hurdles, with interlacings of twigs, and a high pitched roof of thatch, and in this humble edifice they commenced that series of services, "having high meditations under a low roof, and large hearts betwixt narrow walls," which were continued almost without intermission for fifteen hundred years. From this humble beginning, the fountain of British Christianity, the monastery gradually increased in wealth and grew in importance, until its buildings covered nearly sixty acres of ground, was maintained at an immense cost, and took precedence of all other British abbeys until 1154, when Pope Adrian, who had been a monk in the abbey of St. Albans, transferred the honour to that abbey. The abbot sat in Parliament as a spiritual baron, being summoned by a particular writ, to sit "inter pares, procures et barones Regni." He had apartments in the abbey, which resembled a royal court, where sons of nobles were sent to learn the accomplishments of life. When he went abroad, to Parliament, Chapters, Synods, etc., he was accompanied by a retinue of one hundred persons, many of high birth, and all mounted and richly dressed. He frequently entertained as many as five hundred guests at his table at a time, and every Wednesday and Friday distributed alms and food to all the poor who applied at the gate. The abbey also became a nursery of scholars and learned men; had a noble library, and connected with it a scriptorium, where skilful penmen were constantly employed in the transcription of patristic writings, chronicles of past and current history, books on science and fabulous histories of saints, well garnished with miracles and supernatural wonders.

Warner, in his *History of Glastonbury*, says, "The first six centuries are involved in historical gloom, confusion, and obscurity, where no real form can be apprehended, and where the eye is cheated with vain visions instead of beholding actual existences; and curiosity must be satisfied with legends and fables in the room of incontrovertible certainties, or even rational probabilities." Yet may we form some conjectures respecting these earliest missionaries to our benighted land. Their main object was preaching the gospel of glad tidings to the heathens amongst whom they had cast their lot, and their mode of procedure would doubtless be such as is recorded in the narratives of apostolic labours in the New Testament, and some idea may be formed of the difficulties and obstacles they had to encounter in the records of parallel cases of modern missions to the South Sea Islands.

At first they can scarcely be regarded as a monastic body, although after the apostolic fashion they would live in common, but without any regular rules or vows, and would go forth without any set order to preach to and teach the rude Britons, and it would appear not without success, as they remained fixed on the same spot, not perhaps altogether without let or hindrance, and tradition says that their earliest church was built by their converts. They would probably form themselves into what was termed a *Laura*—the germ of subsequent monachism, a society of men, living in separate dwellings, submitting themselves to a superior, and leading lives of abstinence, with alternations of work, prayer, and silent contemplation, combined with missionary journeys amongst the natives. This would probably develop into a more regular system, in accordance with the rules of the Egyptian monks, founded on the Institutes of Pachomius, the main features of which were to eat with their hoods on, so as not to see each other's faces, cast their eyes about, or hold converse with each other; to repeat certain prayers thirty-six times in every twenty-four hours; and to sleep for not more than three hours at a time, on sloping boards, each in a separate cell.

St. Joseph would, of course, be the superior of the community, and in the course of time died and was buried. In the reign of Edward III., John Bloome, of London, obtained a license to make search for his remains at Glastonbury, but was not successful in finding any bones or other relics which he could identify as his, "by reason," says Gulielmus Goodus, a Jesuit, "that he was buried ten miles off, at Montacute, or Hampden Hill," where there are stone quarries, adding,—“Hereafter there is hope that the masons, digging in the quarries, may light, by chance, on his corpse, which, if found, would prove more beneficial to them than the best bed of freestone they ever opened. The best is, be Joseph's body where it will, his soul is certainly in Heaven.”

In the year 177, as William of Malmesbury informs us, Lucius, King of the Britons, sent to Pope Eleutherius, entreating him to send teachers to dispel the darkness in which his people were enveloped, who at once sent two missionaries—Saints Phaganus and Duravianus—who baptized the king, and had a grant of the Isle of Avalon. The old wattled church having fallen to decay, they rebuilt it of stone, and dedicated it to the Saviour and the Apostles Peter and Paul. The king placed twelve anchorets on the island in connection with the new church, who lived five days of the week on bread and water, and on Saturdays and Sundays received the communion and drank a little wine, who also lived in silent seclusion in their cells; and at the same time he divested the Druids of all power, proclaiming Christianity the religion of his realm. Saints Phaganus and Duravianus also built a chapel on Torr Hill, which they dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel, and which was rebuilt by St. Patrick or Petroc. This second chapel was thrown down by an earthquake in 1271, but restored in magnificent style. The tower alone remains, is well preserved, and a fine specimen of architecture, with an elegant portal, above which is a sculptured figure of St. Michael the Archangel, weighing the Bible against the Devil in a pair of scales, with an attendant imp endeavouring to pull down the scale in which his master sits. Above this group is a range of niches, all of which have lost their figures except one. The abbot held a fair of two days' duration on the hill, which was extended to six days by a charter of King Henry I.

William of Malmesbury tells that St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, after he had completed his work in that country, retired to Glastonbury, and became first monk, and then abbot; that he died there in the year 472, at the age of one hundred and eleven, forty-seven years after he left Ireland; that he was buried on the right side of the altar, and that the Irish came hither to kiss the relics of their patron; adding, "All doubt of the truth of this assertion is removed by the vision of a certain brother," which he narrates. More recent historians have accepted it as a fact, adding that when he came to Glastonbury he found the community of twelve brethren, whose names are given in his charter, viz: "Brumban, Adelwolred, Bremwal, Wencreth, Banthomeweng, Hiregaan, Loyor, Wellias, Breden, Swelwes,

Hinloernus, and Hyn," whom he reduced to more regular rules; and that he may be considered the first abbot; also, that he rebuilt the ruined chapels of St. Michael and the Virgin. This is a very doubtful tale, and the Apostle of Ireland is very probably confounded with some other St. Patrick, as there were two or three nearly contemporaneous. It is not unlikely that St. Petroc, a native of Wales, who studied in Ireland for twenty years, went on a pilgrimage to Rome, afterwards founded the monasteries of Padstow and Bodmin, in Cornwall, and who died at Bodmin in 564, may have been the refounder of Glastonbury, and from the similarity of his name been confounded with St. Patrick of Ireland.

About this time flourished the half real, half mythical, hero of ballad romance, Arthur, King of Britain, whose name is intimately associated with Glastonbury, and whose burial



DOORWAY

there was one of the glories of the abbey, second only to its having been the place of burial of St. Joseph. Arthur has two histories, one of fact, exceedingly obscure, and the other of fiction, in which he stands out vested in all the marvels of romance. He lived in the earlier half of the sixth century, and was the great defender of his country against the Saxon Cerdic and his followers, fighting many battles, and effectually checking Cerdic's advance whilst he lived. Romance tells us of his fights with the Picts and Scots, his encounters with the Saxons in the north, his conquests of Ireland and Iceland, his defeats of the Romans in Gaul and of the Norsemen in Norway; of his knights of the round table, and their quest of the "san greal," the holy vessel used by Jesus Christ at the Last Supper, which Joseph of Arimathea filled with his blood at the crucifixion, and brought with him to England, but which

could only be seen by a true knight of perfectly pure, chaste, and holy life. It tells us also of Sir Lancelot and the frail Queen Guenevere, and of the marvels achieved by the king and his knights in their journeyings, and that the king, instead of dying, was carried to fairy-land, there to remain until Britain in some dire extremity should need his sword again, when he would come forth, and again lead the Britons on to conquest over their foes.

He was mortally wounded in the battle of Camlan, in 542, when fighting against his rebellious nephew, Modred, and caused himself to be conveyed by sea

"To the island-valley of Avilion,
Where falls not hail, or rain, or any snow,
Nor ever wind blows loudly; but it lies
Deep meadowed, happy, fair with orchard-lawns
And bowery billows crown'd with summer sea."



ST. JOSEPH'S CHAPEL, EXTERIOR.

There he desired to be taken, that amongst the men of God he might prepare for death, and there be buried in the society of so many holy men as lie there. He had been a great friend to the monastery, having amongst other grants given land of the value of five hundred marks, which was afterwards seized by the Saxons, but subsequently restored.

For a short period Arthur remained in prayerful communion with the holy men of Avalon, and then his heroic soul passed away to shadow-land, or fairy-land, and his remains were deposited with much ceremonial and lamentation in the grave-yard. His widowed queen, who had retired to the nunnery of Amesbury, was afterwards brought to Glastonbury "by Sir Launcelot and his eight fellows, singing many an holy and devout orison, and incensing frankincense upon the corpse, and when they came to the chapel and the hermitage, there she had a dirge with great devotion; and on the morrow the hermit that was sometime Bishop of Canterbury sung the mass of Requiem; and then she was wrapped in seared clothes of reines from the top to the toe in thirty-fold, and then she was put in a web of lead, and after in a coffin of marble," and laid by her husband.

Their grave remained undisturbed for six hundred and forty years, placed between two

pyramids of stone, of British origin, raised to the memory of some whose names have never been deciphered from the obliterated inscriptions. In 1191, at the suggestion of King Henry II., search was made for the relics, to have them removed inside the church. Giraldus Cambrensis, who was an eye-witness of the exhumation, states that at the depth of seven feet a flat stone was found, with an incised cross-shaped leaden plate, on which was inscribed in rude characters, "Here lies buried in the isle of Avalonia the renowned King Arthur," and two feet below was found a coffin of hollowed oak, of two cavities, one occupying two thirds and the other one third of the space, "the former containing the bones of the king, of gigantic size, the other those of the queen, with a portion of her fair yellow hair, nicely braided, but which crumbled to dust on being touched." The relics were removed inside the church, and deposited in a black marble mausoleum, on which Henry de Swansey, the then abbot, caused the following inscription to be cut, which Leland saw on his visit:—

"Hic jacet Arturus flos Regum, gloria Regni,
Quem mores probitas commendant laude perenni,
Versus Henrici Swansey abbatis Glaston.

* * * * *

Arturi jacet hic conjux tumulata secunda
Quæ meruit cælos virtutem prole secunda."

Glastonbury doubtless suffered considerably during the successive invasions of the Saxon pagans, who would have no respect for Christian monasteries, but would rather direct their special vengeance against them as schools of what they deemed a false religion; but the brethren held on their course, and when the Saxons had established themselves in England, made converts from that people. At the end of the sixth century (596), Augustine landed in the Isle of Thanet, having been sent as a missionary to the heathen Saxons by Pope Gregory I. He became Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of all England, and desirous of reducing the ancient British Church to Romish rule and discipline, and the abbeys to the more regular and austere rules of the then newly-born Benedictine order, he called a conference of the British bishops and abbots at a place in Worcestershire, where he endeavoured to persuade them to form one communion with the Romish Church, but neither at that nor at a second conference, in which he spoke in a more peremptory tone, threatening them with Divine wrath in case of disobedience to his call, was he successful. Glastonbury, however, seems to have undergone some modifications, and to have adopted what they deemed wholesome of the Benedictine rules suggested by him. In 630 we find Paulinus, Bishop of Rochester, formerly the Apostle of Northumbria and Archbishop of York, resident there, when we may suppose that a nearer conformity to Rome had been established. He found the church, the "Vetusta Ecclesia," in great state of disrepair, and at his own expense caused it to be cased from foundation to roof, all round, with planking, and removing the thatch, roofed it with lead. It was, however, reserved for Abbot Dunstan to bring the abbey entirely in subjection to the rules of St. Benedict, but that was not until three centuries afterwards.

The Saxons of Wessex had become Christians, and several of the kings were benefactors to the monastery, but King Ina exceeded all others. He was the son of Kenred, and descended from the royal race of Cerdic. He succeeded to the throne of the West Saxons in the year 689, and was the founder, in 704, of the collegiate church of Wells; built a castle at Taunton, founded a school at Rome for English youths, and instituted the payment of king's alms, afterwards called Peter's pence, to the Pope; becoming, after a useful reign of thirty-seven years, a monk at Rome, where he died *circa* 728. It was at the suggestion of Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, that he so lavishly showered his benefactions upon Glastonbury. He re-erected the church in magnificent style, which was dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul; constructed a chapel, which he is said (which seems incredible) to have plated all over with two thousand six hundred and forty pounds of silver and sixty-four pounds of gold. He

furnished the church with an altar pall of inestimable value, embroidered with precious stones; images, candlesticks, censer, chalice, etc. Further, he re-erected the monastic outbuildings, made a grant of a large extent of territory, and in 725 gave a charter of confirmation, exempting the abbey from episcopal authority, and giving the abbot jurisdiction over seven parish churches, those of Sowey, Brent, Street, Moorlinch, Shapwick, Butleigh, and Pilton, which gave rise to much controversy and ill-feeling between the abbey and the bishop of the diocese for four hundred and fifty years. Afterwards they were constituted an archdeaconry, called the Jurisdiction of Glastonbury.

"Kings and queens, not only of Wessex, but of other kingdoms of the Heptarchy, several archbishops, bishops, dukes, and the nobility of both sexes, thought themselves happy in increasing the revenues of the venerable house, to obtain a place for sepulture therein."

In the ninth century the monastery was ravaged, despoiled, and laid waste by the Danes. It lay in ruins until the reign of Edmund, brother and successor of Athelstane, in the year 940, a pious man and benefactor to the church in many places. In particular "he exalted the monastery of Glastonbury, through his singular affection towards it, with great estates and honours, and granted it a charter in 944, which was written in letters of gold in the Book of the Gospels which he presented to the same church, elegantly adorned." He appointed Dunstan to the abbacy, and was soon after murdered, "which St. Dunstan, at that time Abbot of Glastonbury, had foreseen, being fully persuaded of it from the gesticulations and insolent mockery of a devil dancing before him.....By common consent, then, it was determined that his body should be brought to Glastonbury, and there magnificently buried in the northern part of the tower."

St. Dunstan, one of the greatest names connected with the monastery, was born within its precincts and educated within its walls. He was the son of Heorstan, of noble descent, and was the nephew of Athelm, Archbishop of Canterbury, who introduced him to the court of Athelstane, where he remained some years, but was eventually banished through the influence of other courtiers, who were jealous of his superior talents and accomplishments, on a charge of sorcery. He was urged by his uncle to assume the cowl, but he preferred the pleasures of life to the gloom of the cloister, and besides was passionately in love with a Saxon maiden, and he resolutely refused; but he was seized with a dangerous illness, which his uncle attributed to a manifestation of Divine displeasure at his preference of an earthly to a heavenly bride, assuring him that he was destined for a high position in the church. His illness and the entreaties of his uncle produced a complete revolution in his ideas, and possessing great talents and great ambition, he saw that he might win a high position and a famous name in the history of the world by entering the church. He went to Glastonbury, united himself to the fraternity, and constructed for himself a cell five feet long, two and a half broad, and about six feet high, which was lighted only by a trap-door at the top. There he lived an austere life, and soon became famous for his piety and asceticism. This, however, was not the result of his humility and piety so much as a means to an end—that of furthering his ambitious views—the first step of the ladder, the top of which he had resolved to attain.

He was again invited to court, whither he went, and was graciously received by King Edmund, who appointed him Abbot of Glastonbury, and gave him the control of his treasury, with the power of using what he required for the reconstruction of the abbey. He became the bosom friend of King Edred, Edmund's successor, who strove to obtain for him the reversion of the archbishopric of Canterbury on the death of Odo, and encouraged him in the re-establishment of Glastonbury. To him succeeded the boy Edwin, whom Dunstan grossly insulted by tearing from his arms Elgiva, his wife or mistress, on the day of his coronation. He was accused of embezzling the royal treasures, was deprived of his abbacy, "demoniacal laughter ringing through the church as he left it," and he went into exile. On the accession

of Edgar he returned, was restored to his abbacy, and became successively Bishop of Worcester and London, and in 959 Archbishop of Canterbury, dying in the year 988.

In accordance with the wish of King Edmund, Dunstan procured from France a plan on the model of the Benedictine monasteries, and caused the church and monastic buildings to be erected in a style of greater splendour than before. In 944 the king granted a charter confirming all the ancient privileges and immunities, and adding thereto the right of sanctuary within the Twelve Hides, the determination of pleas, the punishment of criminals, and the appropriation of treasure trove.

Dunstan may be regarded as the founder of the Benedictine order in England. He had been in France, and had witnessed the great contrast exhibited by the pious, self-denying



ST. JOSEPH'S CHAPEL, INTERIOR, LOOKING EAST.

monks of St. Benedict to those of England, whose houses, says Warton, "had become little more than convents of secular clerks, who, amply endowed, and regulated by certain institutions agreed upon among themselves, enjoyed all the privileges of the clergy, and even entered into matrimony." Henceforward the great passion of Dunstan's life was to subject all the monasteries of England to the Benedictine rule, and by their means promote his own ambitious views of becoming the supreme head of the order in England.

St. Benedict, the founder of the order, was born at Nurs, in Italy, in the year 480, and is said, but without sufficient evidence, to have been a grandson of the Emperor Justinian. His parents were noble, and were Christians, who called him Benedict in the hope that he would be filled with heavenly blessings. He was sent to Rome for education, but finding his fellow-students dissipated in life, left them, and retired into a desert for meditation, where he met with Romanus, an anchorite, who encouraged him in his desire for a holy life. He abode in an almost inaccessible cave, lived on scraps of food, the remains of the meals of Romanus, which were lowered down to him by a string, and dressed in sheep-skins. His fame soon spread abroad, but he was sorely tempted by the Devil, who was incessantly pointing out to him the beauty of a woman whom he had known in Rome, "and so violently egged him on

to sin, that in his own defence he was obliged to rowl himself stark naked among the briers." He was chosen Abbot of Vicovara, much against his wish, but reprov'd his monks so severely for their loose lives that they endeavoured to poison him in a goblet of wine, which was shivered into a thousand pieces when he made the sign of the cross upon it. Administering to them another sharp reproof, he left them as sinners past all hope of recovery. He returned to the desert, where disciples gathered round him, for whom he built twelve monasteries at Subiaco, placing twelve recluses with a superior in each, retaining himself supreme authority over the whole. He visited them regularly, to exhort the lax, strengthen the weak, and encourage the faithful, ever inculcating the paramount necessity of penitence. He left Subiaco in consequence of the calumnies of Florentius, a priest, and was conducted by two angels



INTERIOR, FROM THE WEST.

to Monte Cassino, where Apollo was still worshipped. He preached to the people, made converts, then overthrew the temple and broke up the images, after which he built two chapels, one dedicated to St. Martin and the other to St. John the Baptist. He then commenced the erection of a monastery, but the Devil endeavoured to thwart him by making the stones too heavy to be lifted, drying up the springs, etc., and killing one of the workmen; but Benedict was a match for him, counteracting all his evil works by the sign of the cross, and eventually finding himself vanquished, he fled, and the buildings were completed. He drew up a code of rules for its government, "so eminent for wisdom," said Gregory the Great, "so solemn and plain with respect to language, and so famous in councils, that it was declared to have been dictated by the same spirit that inspired the writers of the Sacred Canons."

It ordains that all, rich and poor, old and young, learned and illiterate, lay and clergy, shall stand on the same level; a prior to preside over the whole body, and deans over tens, with masters of experience and devout lives to overlook the novices and children. The abbot was to have absolute authority, assisted by a cellarer to manage the temporalities, and the prior, deans, and master the spiritualities. The monks, in turn, to work in the kitchen, bake-house, garden, and other offices, and to attend to visitors and pilgrims. That no flesh should

be eaten on any pretence whatever. From November to Easter the hour of rising to be at the eighth hour of the night (2 a.m.), and to spend the time until day in reading, meditation, and learning the psalms. After prime, to work from the first to the fourth hour (6 to 10 a.m.), and after dinner to work again. To eat only twice a day, for the two meals a pound of bread and three quarters of a pint of wine, with occasionally a third meal of herbs. To fast (*i.e.* to have only one meal per diem, at 3 p.m.,) every Wednesday and Friday from Whitsuntide to September 13th., and every day during Lent, when they might abstain further, as they felt the necessity for so doing. Their garments were a cowl and tunic, made of a cheap, coarse, woollen material, thicker in winter than in summer; and their bed a mat, a straw bed, a pillow, a blanket, and a serge coverlet.

In 543 a colony migrated to France and built the first monastery at Glanfeuil, in Anjou, and others spread rapidly over the country. The order was introduced into Spain *circa* 633. It was partly introduced into England by St. Augustine, who came over in 596, but was not established until Dunstan converted the old British monasteries into Benedictines.

Pope John XXII. (1316-34) caused enquiry to be made as to the eminent men who had sprung from the order, and found that it had supplied twenty-four popes, two hundred cardinals, seven thousand archbishops, fifteen thousand bishops, fifteen thousand abbots of renown, and forty thousand saints and eminently holy men, five thousand five hundred of whom were of Monte Cassino, and were there buried. According to the computation of the writer of the *Tabella rerum illustrium ordinis Sanctissimi Benedicti*, (Salamanca, 1569,) there were thirty-seven thousand Benedictine monasteries, and amongst those who had become Benedictine monks were eleven emperors, twenty kings, fifteen sovereign dukes and electors, and thirteen sovereign earls, and that nine empresses and ten queens had become nuns.

St. Benedict died at Monte Cassino in 543. St. Dunstan subordinated everything, his policy, his visions, his miracles, his prophecies, and his munificence, to the establishment and promotion of the Benedictine rule in the land. Monks who were refractory, licentious in their lives, or married, he turned out of doors without a moment's hesitation, and replaced them by others, many from France. He drew up a modified code of Benedictine rules, which were denominated St. Dunstan's concord of rules, and demanded implicit obedience to them. He had also a great horror of matrimony in the secular priesthood as well as in the monkish fraternity, and compelled all the clergy under his influence, who were married, either to repudiate their wives or leave the church. It has been suggested that "from the moment he sacrificed the Saxon maiden and all his visions of conjugal felicity to the Moloch of superstition, he scowled, with malignant envy, upon all those whose happier fate had permitted them to enjoy the sanctified delights of married life." During the reign of Edward, son of Edgar, he ruled with absolute sway in church and state, but on the accession of Ethelred his influence declined, that king refusing to be led by him, and depriving him of much of his power. The king also laughed to scorn his threats of Divine vengeance, which mortified his vain ambition to such a degree that it is said he died of grief and vexation in 988, and was buried at Canterbury.

In 1011, Canterbury was burnt by the Danes, when the monks of Glastonbury obtained permission from King Edmund Ironside to translate his relics thither. They found his skeleton laid upon gold and precious stones, with the sacred ring on his finger, and conveyed it with great rejoicings to their abbey. Two monks were deputed to deposit the relics in a secret place, and only at the point of death to reveal the secret to another, and he at his death to another monk, fearing lest the Archbishop of Canterbury might reclaim them. In 1124, however, Eadmer of Canterbury wrote a letter of remonstrance to the monks of Glastonbury, ridiculing their boast that they possessed his relics, saying he had witnessed the removal of the saint's coffin intact to Lichfield, in 1074. In 1184, however, after the great fire at Glastonbury, the monks, in searching for their scorched relics, found the coffer with his bones

and the ring, and inscribed with his name, which they placed in a shrine of gold and silver, in the church where "the sick and infirm were healed and restored, and even dumb animals were cured of their diseases." Nevertheless, in 1508, Archbishop Wareham made a search at Canterbury, and there found his bones under a slab, with a leaden plate inscribed, "Hic requiescit Sanctus Dunstanus Archiepiscopus." A correspondence ensued between the archbishop and the abbot (Bere), in which the former threatens to excommunicate the abbot if he does not resign his pretension to holding the relics, and the latter contends that they must be the true relics, since on St. Dunstan's festival all who do not suspend work for the day are unprosperous in all their undertakings during the following year. Fuller says that "on this mistake (the declaration that the bones at Glastonbury were those of the saint) the convent got more by this eight feet length of ground, than by eight hundred of the best acres they possessed elsewhere."

"St. Dunstan was learned in Greek and Latin, and notably knowing in all the liberal sciences; was besides a famous musician, and no inconsiderable statuary; a wonderful encourager of monks and nuns serving God in holiness, and himself very observant of the monastic life; and was renowned both living and after death for miracles." Besides his *Concord of Rules*, St. Dunstan was the author of works for long held in high esteem, as follows:—

- "The Form of Archiepiscopal Blessings."
- "A Treatise on the Rule of St. Benedict."
- "Of the Rule of Monastic Life."
- "Against Wicked Priests," addressed to the Pope.
- "Of the Eucharist."
- "Of Tithes."
- "Of Occult Philosophy."
- "Of the Ordination of the Clergy."
- "Epistles against King Edwin."
- "Epistles to Several Persons," &c., &c.

For a century and a half after the death of Dunstan no event of importance occurred at Glastonbury, excepting the visit of King Canute, and his presentation of a rich pall, embroidered with apples of gold and pearls, for the tomb of King Edmund Ironside. The abbots were "feeble or mischievous men," and nothing is recorded excepting petty squabbles in the house, donations of land and other matters, the visits of nobles, and the elections of abbots. At the Conquest King William took away several of the manors, and bestowed them on his followers; quartered soldiers in the abbey, "oppressed the poor monks to the last degree in their liberties and properties," and looking upon the abbot as too powerful and dangerous a man to leave behind, took him, with several other suspected nobles, in his suite on his first visit to Normandy. Soon after he deposed him, and put in his place Turstine, a Cluniac monk of Caen, who, however, rendered himself unpopular by his tyranny and shooting down his rebellious monks, and had to be sent back to Normandy.

In the middle of the twelfth century, Abbot Henry de Blois stands out conspicuously for the magnificent buildings he erected, but they were scarcely completed when a destructive fire broke out, and laid all the buildings prostrate, both ancient and modern, with the exception of part of the abbot's lodgings, the chapel of Abbot Robert, and the belfry tower of De Blois. King Henry II., who at that time held the abbey in his hands, immediately took energetic measures for its restoration, and sent thither one of his chamberlains, Robert Fitz Stephen, to look after the revenues and superintend the re-erection, who repaired the residential buildings and offices, built the church of St. Mary (otherwise St. Joseph), of "square stones of the most perfect workmanship, and profusely ornamented," which was dedicated in 1186, and laid the foundations of the Major Ecclesia, four hundred feet by eighty. The king, however, did not live to see the completion of his work, which did not take place until five years after his death.

In 1275 an earthquake occurred, which threw down the chapel of St. Michael on Torr Hill, which was soon afterwards rebuilt. No doubt the abbey would suffer some damage by the visitation, but it would probably be trivial as we have no record of any injury being sustained. The church and monastery built by King Henry, with many notable subsequent additions, repairs, and modifications, formed the enormous group of buildings as they existed at the time of the dissolution.

The most disturbing element in regard to the peace and tranquillity of the community was the prolonged dispute with the bishops of the diocese in reference to certain privileges which they enjoyed, as opposed to the pretensions and claims of prerogative of the Prelates of Wells, which commenced at an early period, and was not settled until the dissolution of the house, which brought it to an effectual termination.



PORTION OF CHAPEL IN NORTH TRANSEPT.

Abbot Egelwardus obtained from King Edgar a charter exempting the abbey from episcopal supervision, and giving the monks the right of electing their own abbot, without the interference of any bishop, which was confirmed by a bull of Pope John VIII. The bishops viewed these privileges with great jealousy, and as a usurpation of their prerogative, and continually protested against them, until it came to open warfare. They claimed also the advowson of the seven churches, and demanded the surrender of certain manors which they contended belonged of right to the see, based upon the circumstance that when Richard I. was in captivity in Austria, one of the conditions of his release was that Savaricus, kinsman and chancellor to the Emperor Henry IV., should be appointed Bishop of Bath and Wells, and that the abbey of Glastonbury should be held by him *in commendam* for the aggrandizement of the see, which was carried out, "the dismal effects of which we feel to this day, our house having been exposed even to this time to the violence and injustice of the Bishops of Bath, and their adherents the canons of Wells." So says John of Glastonbury, who attributes the subsequent calamities which befel the abbey to this cause. Abbot Pike went to Rome, and procured a mandate to the Bishop of Ely, the Abbot of Bury St. Edmunds, and the Prior of

Christ Church, Canterbury, to regulate matters, and divide the revenues between the abbey and the bishopric, who in the sequel assigned to the Bishop of Wells one quarter of the revenues and lodgings in the abbey. Jocelyne, who succeeded Savaricus, declined to disgorge any of the plunder, and continued his claim to the abbey for twelve years, and it was not until after a vast number of petitions to the Pope, and journeys to Rome on both sides, that the question was settled. Richard, Bishop of Sarum, and Pandulphus, Bishop elect of Norwich, were nominated to decide the dispute; and the former, with the Abbot of Reading, who acted for Pandulphus, heard the case at Shaftesbury in 1218, who decided that the bishop should have the manors of Winscombe, Pucklechurch, Blackford, and Cranmore, with all their appurtenances: that the manors of Mere, Buckland, Christian-Malford, Badbury, and Ashbury, held by the bishop, should be restored to the abbey; also the advowson of the church of Mere, but that the bishop should retain the right of presentation to the other churches. Two monks went to Rome for a confirmation of the decree, who at the same time obtained an order for the entire severance of the abbey from Wells, a confirmation of their right of free election of their abbot, and other privileges. The dispute was carried on with great bitterness, the partisans of the respective sides not unfrequently coming to blows.

King Edward I. and his Queen Eleanor kept Easter at the abbey in 1278, to witness the opening of King Arthur's grave, when the quarrel broke out afresh between Glastonbury and Wells. The latter demanded that a certain ceremonial should be performed by their archdeacon, to which the former refused to consent, and scowls, frowns, and hard words passed between the churchmen and the monastics. The Archbishop of Canterbury, who was present, settled the matter by a compromise, which, however, did not satisfy either party. He decided that the archdeacon should present to the monks only the oil and balsam, but that the monks should perform their own service in their own house. Through the king's influence the quarrel abated for awhile, but soon broke out again with as much fury as ever. Abbot Adam de Sudbury, *temp.* Edward II., sought to bring the matter to a final settlement by the payment of one thousand marks, but the fire only smouldered, occasionally bursting into flame, and so it continued until Henry the Eighth brought it to a final close by extinguishing one party of the combatants.

Abbots of Glastonbury.

ST. JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA, if tradition speaks truly, must be considered the first abbot or father of the community.

SS. PHAGANUS AND DURAVIANUS, one hundred years after the death of St. Joseph, were sent to England by Pope Eleutherius, at the request of King Lucius, and placed at the head of the Glastonbury fraternity. They built a stone church, dedicated to the Saviour and the Apostles Peter and Paul, rebuilt the old oratory, and erected St. Michael's Chapel on Torr Hill.

ST. PETROC, or PATRICK, said by some authorities to have been St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, was elected abbot by the twelve brethren, whose names are given in his charter, and died *circa* 470. He is usually reckoned as the first abbot.

ST. BENIGNUS, a disciple of St. Patrick, and his successor in the See of Armagh, retired from the episcopate, and came to Glastonbury *circa* 460, and succeeded St. Patrick as second abbot.

ST. DAVID, Archbishop of Menevia (St. David's), came to Glastonbury, *circa* 530, with seven of his suffragan bishops, was elected abbot, and died in 546. He was uncle to King Arthur, expended large sums in buildings, and adorned the altar of the church with a sapphire of inestimable value, which came from the Holy Land by supernatural means, and was supposed to possess most rare and wonder-working miracle-power. At the dissolution it was sent to Henry VIII.

WORGRET, the next known abbot, occurs in the year 601, when Domp, King of Devonshire, restored or granted five hides of land to the abbey, and again in 605, when St. Augustine formed the community into a more regular monastic order.

LALESMUND, of whom nothing is known.

BREGORETH, of whom no records remain beyond his name.

BERTHWALD, first Saxon abbot, ten years, who was afterwards Abbot of Reculver and Archbishop of Canterbury, *circa* 690.

HEMGESEL, who obtained grants of land from Kings Kentwine and Baldred; elected 678; died 705.

- BERWOLD, 705—712, to whom King Ina granted some estates.
 ALBEORH occurs 712, when King Ina made so many munificent donations to the abbey; *q. v. supra*.
 ECHFRID, or ÆTHFRID, under whom Ina's new church was completed, occurs 719.
 CENGIRLUS, or CINGESLUS, succeeded 729, to whom King Adelan, Ina's successor, granted sixty hides of land, and King Cuthred, in 744, a charter confirmatory of all previous grants.
 CUMBERTUS, or TUMBERTUS, his successor, held office nine years.
 TICAN, or TICTAN, succeeded him, and died in 760, having governed the monastery six years.
 GUBAN occurs in 760.
 WALDREN was abbot thirty-two years; occurs in 772.
 BEADWULF, to whom Offa, King of Mercia, made a grant of ten hides of land; occurs in 794.
 CUMAN succeeded in the year 800, who obtained, in 802, a grant of lands from Egbert, King of the West Saxons.
 MUCAN occurs in 811.
 CUTHLAC, abbot twenty-seven years, occurs in 824.
 EDMUND occurs in 851, to whom Earl Æthelstan granted ten hides of land, and left his body for burial in the abbey.
 HEREFERTH occurs in 857, to whom King Etheibald makes a grant of land, and King Alfred a piece of the Cross of Christ, presented to him by Pope Martin.
 STYWARD occurs in 891, who in his pictures is represented with a scourge in his hand, with which he was wont to flagellate his monks.
 ALDHUMUS, or ÆTHELMUS, said to have been uncle to St. Dunstan, occurs in 905, and was afterwards first Bishop of Wells, and Archbishop of Canterbury.
 ÆLFRIC, in reference to whom no date occurs.
 ST. DUNSTAN was presented to the abbacy in 941, by King Edmund. His name stands out more conspicuously in the annals of the abbey than that of any other abbot, *q. v. supra*. He was a man of great learning and ability, perhaps the foremost man of his age, but of insatiable ambition. He regulated the abbey after the rules of St. Benedict, and may be considered, although St. Augustine was the introducer, as the founder of the Benedictine order in England, and used his powerful influence in enforcing celibacy in the priestly and monkish orders. He was banished by King Edwin, but on the accession of Edgar returned to England, and was restored to his monastery; was afterwards raised successively to the Sees of Worcester and Canterbury, and died in the year 988.
 ELSIAS, called the "pseudo abbas," was elected on the flight or banishment of Dunstan, but was displaced on his return. King Edwin made him a grant of twenty hides of land in 956.
 EGELWARDUS succeeded in 952. Through the influence of Dunstan over King Edgar, he obtained a charter from that king, that no one but a monk of Glastonbury should be appointed to the abbacy, if one should be found fitted for the office; with other privileges; also a grant of fifty-six hides of land, "for the use of the monks serving God under Eglward at the renowned place called Glastingyberi."
 ÆLFSTAN occurs in 972.
 SEGEBARUS, or SEGEBAK, 965, Bishop of Bath and Wells 975, died 997.
 BEORHTRED, or BRICHREDE, occurs A.D. 1000, and held the office sixteen years.
 BRITHWIN, Bishop of Wells 1027. During his abbacy King Edmund Ironside bequeathed his body to the abbey, with seventeen hides of land, and was buried in front of the high altar. King Canute also visited the abbey to present a magnificent pall for King Edmund's tomb.
 EGELWARD, or AYKWARD, succeeded in 1027.
 EGELNOTH succeeded in 1053, who was deposed by William the Conqueror in 1077 as being a man of too much influence and power, and consequently dangerous to his authority, and sent to Normandy.
 TURSTINUS, or THURSTAN, 1082—1101; a Cluniac monk of Caen, who was brought over by William the Conqueror to take the place of the dispossessed Egelnoth. He turned out, however, to be a tyrant, ruling the monks with a rod of iron. He altered many of the old customs, and compelled them to exchange their old Gregorian hymn for a Norman song, which was considered a great grievance. "He pinch't them in their diet, and altogether acted in so tyrannous way that they rebelled against him," when he called in soldiers, who broke into the chapter house, pursued the monks into the church, and shot arrows at them when clinging to the altar, ran one through the body, and killed another with an arrow-shot. The monks defended themselves with benches and candlesticks, and killed one soldier, but fourteen more of them were grievously wounded. The king, on making an investigation of the affair, found that the abbot was to blame, and sent him back to Normandy. He returned, however, on the accession of William Rufus, and recovered his abbacy by the payment of five hundred pounds of silver. Several of the monks, however, left, and did not return until his death in 1101.
 HERLEWINUS, 1101—1120, took down the church of his predecessor, as not being of sufficient dignity, and expended £480 on the foundations of another on a more magnificent scale. He gave also an altar, valued at one hundred marks, a cross of exquisite workmanship, and nine copes.
 SIGEFRIÐ, 1120—*circa* 1126. Afterwards Bishop of Chichester, formerly a monk of St. Martin de Seez, and brother to Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury. He procured a bull of privileges from Pope Calixtus II., "*Privilegium Kalixt Pape secundi de Possessionibus et Libertatibus Glastonie Ecclesie*."
 HENRY DE BLOIS, nephew to King Henry I., 1126—1171. In 1129 he was appointed Bishop of Winchester, and held the abbacy *in commendam*. He was highly esteemed for his exemplary conduct and prudent management of the finances, by which he cleared off extensive liabilities, and obtained restitution of some lands. He was also a most munificent benefactor to the abbey, the builder of a splendid mansion, called the castle, the chapter house,

the belfry, the refectory, the dormitory, the infirmary and its chapel, the grand entrance-gate, etc. He bestowed also on the church a variety of richly-jewelled vestments, a silver-gilt crucifix studded with precious stones, an ivory shrine, carpets, cushions, etc., and, above all, some inestimable relics—portions of the bodies of several saints, including St. Hilda of Whitby; a portion of the coat sleeve of St. John the Evangelist; oil from the tomb of St. Catherine, etc. He was also the founder of the Nunnery of Ivinghoe.

ROBERT, formerly Prior of Winchester, held the abbacy seven years, eminent for his virtues and charities to the poor. After his death the monastery fell into the hands of King Henry II., who held it several years.

PETER DE MARCI was appointed by King Henry to preside over the monastery, and manage the revenues on his behalf. He was charged with having committed sacrilege on Christmas Day, 1183, and in May following the abbey was burnt, as a judgment (so it was said) upon the defilement of the building by the abbot. After the fire, in digging for the restoration, the relics of St. Gildas and St. Patrick were discovered, and placed in shrines inside the new church. The king sent Ralph Fitz Stephen to re-edify the buildings, who set about his work with zeal, but Henry died before they were completed, and King Richard, wanting all the money he could raise for the Crusade, the works were stopped, "there being no one to pay the workmen."

HENRY DE SALIACO, or DE SWANSEY, of the blood royal, Prior of Bermondsey, 1189—1192. He obtained from Pope Calixtus the privilege of using the mitre, ring, gloves, dalmatic tunic, etc., and it was in his time that the grave of King Arthur was found. During his abbacy the foundations of the long dispute with Wells were laid, the abbey being given to Savaricus, Bishop of Bath and Wells, who called himself Bishop of Glastonbury, whilst Saliaco, in compensation, was given the Bishopric of Worcester. He was author of some poems.

WILLIAM PIKE, 1199—*circa* 1203. This arrangement caused a great commotion in the abbey; the monks met and elected Pike to the abbacy, but he was excommunicated, and several of the monks sent to prison for contempt. Pike went to Rome to obtain redress, and died there, not without suspicion of having been poisoned at the instance of Savaricus, who also died soon after, in 1205.

JOCELYNE, who succeeded Savaricus at Wells, maintained a tenacious hold of the abbey until 1218, when a severance of the abbey from the bishopric was effected.

WILLIAM VIGOR, 1218—1223. A monk of the abbey. He achieved great popularity amongst the monks, "whom he regarded as his children," says John of Glastonbury, "bestowing much on them, freely, for their corporal recreation," his most popular act, perhaps, being his adding a peck of oats to each brewing of the abbey beer, to give it more body and strength.

ROBERT, 1224—1234, Prior of Bath, who quarrelled with his monks, although "he governed with great moderation and discretion," in consequence of which he resigned, and returned to Bath with a pension of £60 per annum.

MICHAEL OF AMBRESBURY, 1234—1252. He paid particular attention to the finances of the abbey, which had fallen into a deplorable state under Savaricus; cleared off all the debts; recovered some alienated lands; and put the buildings into a thorough state of repair. He resigned in 1252, on account of old age, when he was allowed a pension of £160 per annum, the manor of Mere for a residence, and "a double allowance from the kitchen." He died in 1253, and was buried in the church.

ROGER FORD, a native of Glastonbury, 1252—1261. A man of great probity, learning, and eloquence, who contended stoutly for the rights of the abbey in opposition to the claims of Wells. His career was one continued series of opposition to "unprincipled antagonists." He was deposed by the Bishop of Wells, which he would have taken little notice of, but his deposition was confirmed by a factious party of his own monks, who elected Robert de Pederton in his place, but he was restored in 1259, "in consideration of his upright life." He died when on a journey in Kent, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

ROBERT PEDERTON, 1261—1274. A good scholar, and of well-regulated life, who maintained a strict observance of the rules, and was a good financier.

JOHN DE TAUNTON, a monk of the house, 1274—1291. His abbacy was marked by the earthquake which threw down the chapel on Torr Hill, and the visit of King Edward I. and his Queen. He erected some noble buildings, and presented a large collection of books to the library.

JOHN DE CANCIA, a native of Kent, 1291—1303. He built for himself a sumptuous tomb on the north side of the altar, and adorned the church with images, crosses, etc.

GEOFFREY FROMOND, 1303—1322. He expended £1,000 on the abbey buildings, built the great hall, and caused the church to be newly dedicated, with rich furniture and costly ornaments.

WILLIAM DE TAUNTON, 1322, died eleven days after his benediction, yet during the short period he held the crozier he erected the great cross adorned with divers images, built the front of the choir, and gave books to the library, and vestments and vessels to the church.

ADAM DE SUDBURY, 1322—1325, placed a large image of the Virgin over the high altar, with a tabernacle "of most excellent workmanship;" built the altars of St. George and St. Silvester; vaulted a great part of the church, and embellished it with paintings of saints, martyrs, kings, and benefactors; set up an astronomical clock, erected an organ, and hung eleven large bells, six in the church tower and five in the clock tower.

JOHN DE BREYNTON, or BREINKTON, 1335—1341, Prior of Glastonbury, completed the great hall at a cost of £1,000, and built the kitchen, the long gallery, the abbot's chapel, and a long range of offices.

WALTER DE MONYTON, 1341—1374, lengthened the presbytery and vaulted the choir. He did also a great service in causing a transcript to be made of all the charters, bulls, grants, and other documents relating to the possessions, privileges, and immunities of the abbey. The MS., called "Secretum Abbatis," was always kept by the abbot, and is now in the Bodleian Library, in a state of perfect preservation.

JOHN CHINNOCK, 1374—1420, completed the unfinished works of his predecessor, and rebuilt the ruined cloisters, the fratty, and the dormitory.

NICHOLAS FROME, 1420—1455, of whom nothing further is known.

WALTER MORE, 1456—1457, who died a few months after his election.

JOHN DE SELWODE, 1457—1493.

THOMAS WASYN, elected by the monks 1493, but displaced by the Bishop of Bath and Wells.

RICHARD BEERE, 1493—1524. A great builder, at a considerable expenditure of money. He erected the king's apartments, the lodgings for the secular priests and the clerks of our lady, the greater part of King Edgar's chapel, the chapel of Our Lady of Loretto, the chapel of the Sepulchre, and adorned the high altar with an antependium of silver-gilt, built also Sharpham Manor House and almshouses for ten poor women. He went on an embassy to Rome for King Henry VII., and was buried under a marble slab in the south aisle of the nave.

The last fifteen abbots were "good ordinary men, who ever sought to bring pilgrims to the gate and add to the revenue."

"Still farm to farm, and park to park,
They added year by year,
From hills that heard the soaring lark,
To lowly marsh and mere;
But still they cried the space is small
For an Abbot of Glastonbury's Hall."

RICHARD WHITING, "Martyr" and last abbot, 1524—1539, one of the best and the most unfortunate of the long series of abbots, formerly chancellor of the abbey. On the death of Abbot Beere, the monks not being able to agree in the choice of a successor, referred the question to Cardinal Wolsey, who appointed Whiting, and therein displayed a wise judgment. He governed the house with prudence and ability; and although he maintained a strict discipline, was held in high estimation by the monks. He lived in great state, with an establishment equal to a noble of high rank. When called to London, to attend to his Parliamentary duties, he was followed by a retinue of one hundred persons. He entertained also a constant succession of guests and travellers, sometimes as many as a hundred at a time, so as to maintain the godly character and at the same time the dignity and hospitality of the house. Even the visitors, sent out as they were to make as black a case as possible against the abbey, could find no cause of complaint against him, but wrote in their Report—"At Bruton and Glastonbury there is nothing notable; the brethren be so strait kept, they cannot offend, but fain they would if they might, as they confess, and so the fault is not in them." This speaks more for the abbot than the monks, but probably the latter paragraph was added, so as to make out some sort of case against the abbey. On one occasion he was sent on an embassy to Rome by the king, on a mission requiring "peculiar delicacy and tact," when he acquitted himself "to the entire satisfaction of the king." When Parliament had sanctioned Henry's assumption of the headship of the Church, he, although in his conscience disapproving of it, subscribed his name when called upon to do so, along with his monks, although it is evident his hand trembled when doing so. In 1539 three visitors came to the abbey, and made an inquisitorial investigation. He received them hospitably, and replied courteously to all their questions; but when coaxed and threatened to surrender the abbey voluntarily, he positively refused, saying that he had been placed in that office, and had sworn to defend the abbey, and protect its inmates, and he could not in conscience break his oath, and so degrade himself, preferring death to dishonour. No entreaties were sufficient to induce the abbot to surrender the trust given into his charge, therefore it was resolved to charge him with treason. Search was made in his study, and a book found, in manuscript, impugning the king's divorce, and consequently traitorous to his issue by any subsequent wife previous to the death of Catherine; he was also examined on the articles, and was reported to have given unsatisfactory answers, and on such trumped-up charges, including one of embezzlement of the abbey's property, he was brought to trial, condemned, and executed on Torre Hill, and along with him Roger Jacob and John Thorne, two of his confidential officials. J. Russell writes to the Lord Privy Seal, "My Lorde, this shalbe to asserteyne that on Thursdays, the 14th. daye of this present moneth," (November, 1539,) "the Abbott of Glastonburie was arraigned, and the next daye putt to execucion wyth two other of his monkes for the robbing of Glastonburie Church, on the Torre Hill, next unto the towne of Glastonburie. The seyde abbott's body being devedyed in foure partes and hedde stryken off, whereof, one quarter stonde the at Welles, another at Bathe, and at Ylchester and Brigewater the reste, and his hedde upon the abbey-gate at Glastonburie." "His tragical end," says Beattie, "leaves a stigma upon the national tribunal of that day, which no argument can extenuate or efface. His death was little less than a foul murder, perpetrated under the sanction of a mock trial, the very formalities of which stamped the proceedings with a deeper and darker shade of atrocity."

Other Eminent Men of the Abbey.

There proceeded from Glastonbury not less than seven archbishops of Canterbury—Brithwold, Athelmus, Dunstan, Ethelgarus, Sigericus, St. Elnothus or Agilnothus, and St. Elphagus or Alphage, who was stoned to death at Greenwich by the Danes; and twenty-one bishops of other sees.

GILDAS CAMBRICUS, ALBANUS, or BADONICUS, our earliest historian, originally a monk of Bangor, afterwards of Glastonbury, author of "*De Calamitate Excidio et Conquesta Britanniae*," a fragment, which is alone extant of his writings, which was published and dedicated to Bishop Tunstall by Polydore Virgil, *n. d. circa* 1525. He flourished early in the sixth century, during the invasions of the Saxons, but Thomas Wright contends that he is a fabulous personage, and the work a forgery, written by a Saxon priest of the seventh century.

MELCHUNUS. Leland states that he found in the library of the abbey "a piece of broken history, written by Melchunus, an Avalonian, who wrote about the year of our Redemption 560."

ST. ETHELWOLD, a monk and disciple of Dunstan, "no less renowned for sanctity and miracles than wisdom and learning," afterwards Abbot of Abingdon and Bishop of Winchester, who died 984. He was author of—"Of the Power over Priests," addressed to Pope John XIV.; "Concerning Priests guilty of Fornication, and their Concubines;" "On the Abbots of Lindisfarne;" "On the Kings, Kingdoms, and Bishoprics of all England;" "Of the Time of the British Kings;" "On his own Visitations;" "On the Planets and Climates of the World."

JOHN OF GLASTONBURY, a monk and historian of the abbey. "Johannis Confratris et Monachi Glastoniensis Chronica, sive Historia de Rebus Glastoniensibus. E Codice Membraneo antiquo descripsit edititque Tho. Hearnius, qui et ex Codice Historiolam de Antiquitate et augmentatione Vetustæ Ecclesiæ S. Marie Glastoniensis præmisit multasque Excerpta è Richardi Beere (Abbatis Glastoniensis) Terraria hujus cænobii subjicit. Oxonii, 1726."

STURTON, EDMUND. Monk, date not known. "Renowned not only at home, but abroad, for piety and learning; wrote many books full of erudition, and left them to the library of his monastery, all which perished at the subversion of that house." Of his writings the following alone are known,—"In praise of the Blessed Virgin;" "On the Names of Mary and John;" "Dialogue on the Rule of St. Benedict."

ERCOMBERT, the Grammarian; so called from his aptness in teaching grammar. A monk of Glastonbury, date not known. Author of—"Of the Eight Parts of Speech;" "Grammar Rules;" and other works which are lost.

MARSHALL, GEOFFREY, monk, date not known. A mathematician, cut off in the prime of life. Author of—"A Repertory of Logic;" "A Repertory of Geometry;" besides other lost works.

GERIMUS, monk. Author of several works, the only one known being "Of the Divine Law." Date uncertain.

These are but a few of the many eminent writers of Glastonbury Abbey, several of whom have been forgotten, and the works of others not preserved, or lost in the dispersal of the library.

There were buried in the abbey church and its precincts six kings, one queen, five dukes, four bishops, and nineteen abbots.

Dissolution of the Abbey.

"Or was thy error such, that thou couldst not protect
These buildings which thy hand did with such zeal erect?
To whom didst thou commit that monument to keep
That suffreth, with the dead, their memory to sleep?
When not great Arthur's tomb, nor Holy Joseph's grave
From sacrilege had power their sacred bones to save;
He who that God in Man to his sepulchre brought,
Or he which for the faith twelve famous battles fought?
What? did so many kings do honour to that place
For avarice, at last, so vilely to deface?"

DRAYTON'S POLYOLBION.

For nearly fifteen centuries had the monastery existed in some shape or other. If not founded by Joseph of Arimathea, it was almost unquestionably of Apostolic origin, and as such was co-equal with the Romish Church to which it subsequently became subject. It was a very humble establishment in its early days, but expanded rapidly into an immensity of grandeur and wealth, becoming a centre of holiness, a nursery of learning, and the burial-place of kings and saints. And now the time was come when all its glory and greatness should pass away, "like the morning cloud and the early dew." The ambition and avarice of the eighth Henry prompted him, the one to assume the headship of the Church of England, and the other to sweep away the monasteries of the land, and appropriate their revenues for himself and his friends. It is true that the greater number of the monastic establishments had become exceedingly corrupt, and departed widely from the objects intended by their pious founders; but it would appear that Glastonbury had not fallen so low as many other monasteries, and under the rule of Richard Whiting, the last abbot, due discipline was maintained, and the duties of fasting and prayer, preaching to the people, instructing the ignorant, and almsgiving to the poor were scrupulously exercised. Even the visitors were scarcely able to make out a case against it, anxious as they were to do so, confessing that there was "nothing notable" against it, and that the house was "streit kept," the most serious charge being a superstitious worship of relics. Thus ran the report,—*"Pleasyth your mastership to understand that yesterday night we came late from Glasterberg to Bristow. By this bringer, my*

servant, I send you relics: first, two flowers, wrapped in white and black sarcenet, that on Christmas-even, *horâ ipsâ quâ Christus natus fuerat*, will spring and burgen and bare blossomes, *Quod expertum est*, saith the Prior of Maiden Bradley. Yee shal also recieve a bag of relicks, wherein yee shal see still stranger things, as shal appeare by the scripture," (written labels), "as G—d's coat; or (our) Ladye's smocke; part of G—d's supper or *Cæna Domini*; pars *petræ super qua natus erat* Jesus in Bethlehem, etc., etc. Your most assured poor priest, RICHARD LAYTON."

Besides the relics above mentioned there were found in the church: "A part of Moyse's altar whereon he pour'd oyl; a part of Moyse's rod; some manna of the Wilderness; some of the gold offered by the wise men at Bethlehem; two parts of the Saviour's cradle; some crumbs of one of the loaves with which the five thousand were fed; a portion of Our Lord's hair; a thorn from His crown at the Crucifixion; some of the Virgin's milk; two of St. Peter's teeth; a bone of Daniel; part of the dust of the fiery furnace, and a bone of one of the three children; a waterpot from the marriage at Cana in Galilee; a nail of the cross of Christ, and a part of the sponge; a portion of the coat without seam; a finger-bone of St. John the Baptist; and an immense quantity of relics of lesser saints, martyrs, and confessors."

Notwithstanding the favourable report of the visitors, the abbey was too rich, its revenues being estimated at £3,311 7s. 4d. net, and £3,508 13s. 4d. gross, to escape confiscation, and short work was made of it. The abbot was put to death, the monks dispersed, the estates escheated, and the abbey entirely dissolved, and left to fall to ruin. There was accommodation for about one hundred monks, and the usual number was from seventy to eighty, until Pope Innocent III. reduced the number to sixty. Fifty signed the acknowledgment of King Henry's supremacy, along with the abbot, therefore we may assume that the number would be complete or nearly so. Two of the monks were executed with the abbot, and the remainder were granted pensions, of whom there were living in 1553, one with a pension of £6 13s. 4d. per annum, four of £6, four of £5, two of £4 16s. 8d., and fourteen of £4; twenty-five in all, of whom six died the same year.

A survey was made of "the lordshippes, manors, landes, tenements, woodes, parkes, fysshings, waters, and other heraditamentes belonging to the late attainted monasterie of Glastonburie, lying and being in sondrie counties, hereafter specified, now in the kynge's handes, by the attaincture of Richard Whiting, late abbot of the same, of haute treason." From this survey, which is preserved in the Bodleian Library, it appears that the abbey held possessions in the counties of "Barkeshire, Devonshire, Dorcetshire, Glocestershire, Somersetshire, Wilteshire, Wales, and London."

The manor of Glastonbury, with the church, churchyard, and monastic buildings were granted, 1st. Edward VI., to Edward, Duke of Somerset, "for the better maintenance of his dignity." In the 1st. Elizabeth, the church, monastic buildings, and site were bestowed on Sir Peter Carew, with a portion of the lands; and in the 14th. of the same reign on Thomas, Earl of Sussex, and his heirs male, which passed with the manor through various hands, until 1806, when they were sold for £75,000, divided into lots, and disposed of piecemeal.

Queen Mary contemplated the restoration of the abbey, and the scattered monks, upon the strength of this hope, came together again, and began to put the buildings into a state of reparation; but no further steps being taken by the queen, the works were stopped, and the monks petitioned for a grant of the buildings, and to hold a portion of the estates at rent; but the death of Mary, and the accession of a Protestant Queen, put an end to all hope of restoration.

The Abbey and its Ruins.

"Glory and boast of Avalon's fair vale,
 How beautiful thy ancient turrets rose;
 Fancy yet sees them in the sunshine pale
 Gleaming, or more majestic in repose,—
 When west-away the crimson landscape glows,
 Casting their shadow on the waters wide,
 How sweet the sounds that, at still daylight's close,
 Come blended with the airs of eventide,
 When through the glimmering aisle faint misereres died.

But all is silent now! silent the bell,
 That, heard from yonder ivied turret high,
 Warned the cowed brother from his midnight cell;
 Silent the vesper chaunt—the litany
 Responsive to the organ! scattered lie
 The wrecks of the proud pile, mid arches gray,
 Whilst hollow winds through mantling ivy sigh,
 And e'en the mouldering shrine is rent away,
 Where, in his warrior weeds, the British Arthur lay."

W. L. Boules.

The abbey lay at the foot of Torr Hill, on the western side; on the south it was bounded by marshy moorland, with the town of Glastonbury on the west and north-west, one of the walls of the enclosure forming the side of a street. The buildings were surrounded by a high stone wall comprehending sixty acres, a considerable portion of which was covered by the various edifices of the abbey. There are records extant which give some idea of the extent and splendour of the buildings immediately previous to the dissolution, of which very few vestiges remain, the ruins having been used as a quarry to obtain materials for the erection of houses and barns, for the repairs of roads, and for any other purpose in which stone can be employed, the only portions remaining in a condition at all approximating to what they originally were, being St. Joseph's chapel and the abbot's kitchen. The monastic buildings appear to have stood on the south side of the church, the cloisters abutting on the nave, the chapter house south of the transept, the almonry at the south-west corner of the nave, the abbot's kitchen south-west of the almonry, an unknown building (of which fragments remain) westward of the church, the cemetery of the monks on the south and that of the laity on the north of St. Joseph's chapel.

The great gateway, with the porter's lodge, was in the western wall, from Glastonbury High Street facing St. Joseph's chapel. It remained entire until the end of the last century, when the gateway was taken down to erect a shop on the site, leaving, however, the side arch. It was Tudoresque in style, battlemented and machiolated above and groined beneath, with flanking turrets. There was also another gateway facing the abbot's kitchen, of later date, which was taken down, with a portion of the boundary wall, and an iron rail substituted.

The great church of St. Peter and St. Paul was commenced by direction of King Henry II., after the destruction by fire of the church of Henry de Blois, but was not completed until the abbacy of Geoffrey Fremont, who was elected in 1303. To finish it the monks went about the country preaching begging sermons, exhibiting relics, and granting indulgences, for the purpose of raising the necessary funds. Previously, however, to proceeding with the great church, the chapel of St. Joseph was restored, and dedicated in 1186; the reason for this being that it occupied the venerated site of the vetusta ecclesia, the original wattle and thatch church of the first century. It is a fine specimen of the later Norman transitional style, rectangular, with four corner turrets, two of which remain, two richly-sculptured doorways, semicircular-headed windows and arches, altogether one of the finest remains in England of the Anglo-Norman style. Beneath it was a crypt, of the fifteenth century, used as a place of sepulture,

which, until 1825, was filled with rubbish seven or eight feet in depth, when it was cleared out, and many fragments of statuary found, and eighteen coffins, one eight feet three inches in length, enclosing a skeleton of that size. In the south-west corner, in a chapel, is a holy well, under a semicircular Norman arch, formerly a great place of resort for pilgrims, who deemed its waters as efficacious in the cure of diseases as the holy thorn itself.

The great church was cruciform in shape, with nave and side aisles; choir and transepts, with a tower at the intersection; partly Anglo-Norman, commencing with the choir, and presenting in the transepts and nave the gradual transitional features of the subsequent hundred and fifty years. The chapel of St. Mary or St. Joseph originally stood apart from the church, but was afterwards united to it by a new building. Extending eastward from the choir was the chapel of our Lady, or the retro-chapel, probably built by Abbot Adam de Sedbury, *circa* 1325, of which there are no remains. There were four other chapels at the east end of the choir, and two each on the eastern sides of the transepts, some of which have been identified as those of St. Mary, St. Andrew, and St. Edgar, also a chapel of our Lady of Loretto on the north side of the nave, and on the south side the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre. The entire length of the range of buildings, from St. Joseph's chapel to the Lady chapel inclusive, was 594 feet, the following being the length of the five longest existing churches in England—Winchester 540 feet, St. Paul's 500 feet, York 498 feet, Westminster 489 feet, and Lincoln 482 feet. The existing remains are the south wall of the choir; a window jamb at the east end of the choir; the walls of a chapel in the north transept, and a portion of one in the south transept; the two eastern pillars and portions of the arches for the support of the tower; part of the southern wall of the nave, and the greater portion, nearly entire, although roofless, of St. Joseph's chapel.

The abbot's house lay south-west of the cloisters, built in the form of the letter E, three stories high, with ten large windows to each floor in front; the entrance was by "six or eight handsome broad steps" into a hall leading to several stately rooms, with walls and ceilings wainscotted with oak, richly ornamented, particularly the fire-places, with carvings. Apart, but near by, was the abbot's kitchen, still remaining in a state of perfect preservation, and evidencing the profuse hospitality of the abbots. It is an octagon, enclosed in a square of forty feet, built entirely of stone, as a precaution against fire, and is twenty feet high to the springing of the roof, which rises as an octagonal pyramid, and is surmounted by a lantern, through which the smoke escaped, passing upward, from the fire-places, of which there were four, each sixteen feet in length, between the inner and the outer walls. There are two windows and two doors, and in a recess of the eastern wall an effigy of a monk of the thirteenth century, found when making an excavation in 1793. It was superintended by the dispenser, who had under him cooks, under cooks, scullions, turnspit boys, and porters to bring in fuel, vegetables, etc.

The chapter house, an oblong building, lay south of the transept, the entrance to which was from the cloisters.

The cloisters, on the south side of the nave, extending from the transept to the seventh pillar of the nave, were built by John Chinnock, abbot, towards the end of the fourteenth century.

The dormitory was built by the same abbot over the cloisters, and was under the care of the camerarius. Each monk had a separate compartment furnished with a straw bed, a flock mattress, a pair of coarse blankets, a coverlet, and a bolster of straw or flock; a priez dieu, to which was attached a crucifix, a table or desk, with drawers and shelves for papers, and a chair.

The refectory was situated to the south of the cloisters, and was furnished with seven long tables, and a cross table at the end for the superior officials.

The library was south of the refectory, and was a large building, of which not a fragment

is left. It was exceptionally rich in its collection of books. Leland, who spent some days in examining its contents, in Abbot Whiting's time, says that he had "scarcely passed the threshold when the very sight of so many sacred remains of antiquity struck him with awe and astonishment." He gives an account of its contents in his *Comment. de Scrip. Brit.* Adjoining was the scriptorium, where a staff of monks, skilful with pen, were constantly at work transcribing the works of previous writers, recording current events, and adding works of their own composition.



ABBOTS KITCHEN.

The guest hall was in the same locality, with its noble hall, one hundred and eleven feet by fifty-one, for the accommodation of visitors and travellers, who were "entertained according to their quality, and none brow-beaten or ordered away if they were orderly and of good behaviour." It contained a great number of chambers, all kept scrupulously clean, with kitchen, beer and wine cellar, and stables supplied with hay and provender, and was under the charge of the hospitium, who had under him a butler, cooks, grooms, and a staff of ordinary servants.

The king's apartments, richly furnished and decorated, in the same neighbourhood, for the use of royalty when visiting the abbey. "Richard Bere, abbate, builded the new lodging by the great chamber caullid the King's Lodging in the Galery."

The eleemosynarium, of which a fragment is left near the kitchen, with an arch in the basement leading to a staircase. So long as this and other monkish almonies existed, there was no need for workhouses, as no poor person was turned away empty handed; but after

the dissolution it became necessary to provide by law for the maintenance of the poor, not less than eleven acts being passed in the reign of Elizabeth for that purpose. The eleemosynarius was at the head of this branch, who was also charged with the duty of searching out the sick and feeble, and supplying their wants.

The common room was a large apartment, where fires were kept burning during the winter, for the monks to warm themselves at, no other fires being allowed, excepting in the abbot's house, the guest house, and the kitchens.

The treasury, built entirely of stone, as a provision against fire, was the depository of charters, the register book, the leiger book, evidences, accounts, relics, croziers, plate, and ready money. It was used also by noblemen and gentlemen as a place of security for their deeds and other documents.

The infirmary would probably be situated to the north of the church, apart from the other buildings. It was under the charge of the infirmarius, with a body of mediciners and servants, and had a common room, a kitchen, an apothecary's shop, a room for laying out the dead, and a chapel.

There were also the prior's lodgings, with hall, kitchen, buttery, and bakehouse; the almoner's and sub-almoner's chambers, the bishop's chambers, the doctor's chambers, the friar's chambers, apartments for the secular clerks of Our Lady, the novices with the fraternity their common room—the boys, who were taught grammar, music, and Christian knowledge, and were choristers in the church; the sacristy, or vestry, where the church vestments were kept; the wardrobe, where the clothing of the monks was kept; the armoury, supplied with weapons of defence; the sextery, or grave-digger's office; the fermerer's office; dairy, buttery, still house, brewhouse, pumphouse; stables for the abbot's eight horses, and other buildings, including "an almshouse in the north part of the abbay for vii or x pore wymen, with a chapel."

Outside the walls there were several structures appurtenant to the abbey. The church of St. Michael, on Torr Hill; the churches of St. John the Baptist and St. Benedict, which until the dissolution were served by chaplains from the abbey; a nunnery at Weary-all Hill, where the Glastonbury Thorn blossomed, which was founded, according to legend, in pursuance of an angelic vision which was vouchsafed to King Arthur; the pilgrims' inn, a fine specimen of the domestic perpendicular style, in the High Street, for the reception of guests when the hospitium was full; almshouses in Magdalen Street for ten poor men and ten women, founded and supported by the abbey; the tribunal, in a good state of preservation, which was the courthouse and prison of the Twelve Hides; and the abbey barn, still perfect, a fine and handsomely decorated structure ninety feet by sixty, built in the fourteenth century, and situated at the east end of the town.

Relics of the Abbey.

A curious automaton clock, constructed *circa* 1322 by Peter Lightfoot, a monk, which shows the solar motion and the phases of the moon. The hours and quarters are struck by knights with battle-axes, and whilst the hours are striking two knights engage in a tilting match, riding backwards and forwards while the striking lasts. It is now in the cathedral of Wells.

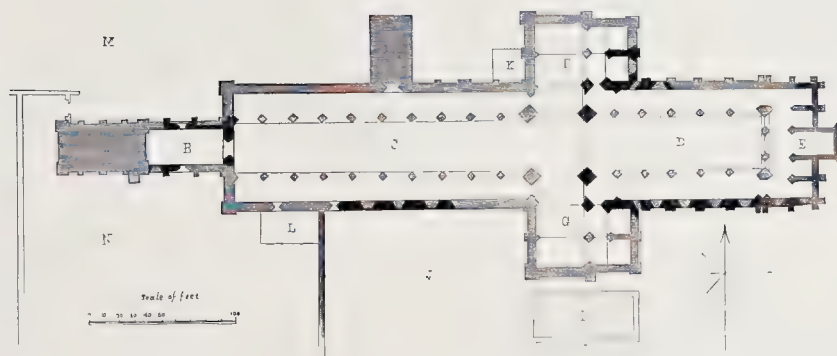
A book with wooden leaves covered with vellum, containing a history of St. Joseph and the foundation of the abbey. It is now at Naworth, in Cumberland, where Stukely saw it, and described it as "the famous Glastonbury Abbey Book, or rather screen, for it is big enough, with an account of all the saints buried in that place."

The abbot's chair, which he used when dining in the refectory with the monks; it is three-legged, two in front and one behind, of spelled work, with revolving rings round the

spells. It is very ancient, and is now in the palace at Wells, where also is a monk's chair, stiff and upright, with curule legs, and a carved inscription running round the back.

A very beautiful saker tankard, of the capacity of two quarts, with pegs inside marking half pints. Full-length figures of the Twelve Apostles stand in relief round it, all with books in their hands, excepting Peter with the keys, John with a chalice, and Judas Iscariot clutching at the money-bag. On the lid is a carved representation of the Crucifixion, and it is otherwise ornamented with reliefs of grapes, flowers, and serpents. It is now in the possession of Lord Arundel, of Wardour.

Several seals, with coats of arms and other devices. The arms of the abbey were—vert, a cross botonne arg., with sometimes in the first quarter a small figure of the Virgin with the Infant on her dexter arm, and holding a golden sceptre in her left hand.



GROUND PLAN OF GLASTONBURY.

- A. St. Joseph's Chapel.
- B. Building connecting ditto with Church.
- C. Nave.
- D. Choir.
- E. Lady Chapel.

- F. North Transept.
- G. South Transept.
- H. North Porch.
- I. Chapter House.
- J. Cloisters.

- K. Chapel of Our Lady of Loretto.
- L. Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre.
- M. Cemetery of Laity.
- N. Cemetery of Monks.









FROM THE EAST.

The Premonstratensian Abbey of Dryburgh.



THE conquest of Britain by the Saxons in the fifth century drove the ancient British race westward into the mountain fastnesses of Wales and Strathclyd, and across the sea into the sister island of Hibernia; further than this, it extinguished the religion of Christ, which the Britons had imbibed from the teaching of itinerant Apostles, and substituted that of the Teutonic gods. But the British Christians in their flight carried their religion with them, and in Wales uprose the great monastic establishment of Bangor, consisting of seven colleges, each one containing not less than three hundred monks; whilst Ireland, in the following century, had become the great centre of religious light and scholastic learning in western Europe.

In the year 521 there was a child born, it is supposed in County Donegal, whose name was destined to shine with resplendent lustre in the ecclesiastical annals of Ireland and Scotland, and to achieve the honour of canonization. He was named Columba, was born of a powerful tribe, and was allied both paternally and maternally with some notable chiefs or kings, as they were called, of northern Ireland and western Scotland. He was devout from childhood, studied under able preceptors, had for schoolfellows St. Comgall, St. Ciaran, and St. Cainnech; yet even among such companions as

these he was so conspicuous, by his assiduity in study and attention to his religious exercises, that he was generally called Colum-cille, or Columba of the Church. He was a great admirer of the monastic system, and founded several religious houses, the greatest of which was Durrow, established when he was about thirty years of age. In 561 he was unjustly charged with having instigated the battle of Cooldevny, for which he was excommunicated by an Irish synod, when he determined to leave Ireland, and casting his eye across the sea, he was struck by the barbarous and benighted condition of the Picts and the Scots, and determined upon going thither to instil into them the truths of the Gospel and the principles of civilization.

Off the western extremity of the Isle of Mull there lies a little island some three miles in length, and varying in breadth from a mile to a mile and a half, singularly fertile, and yielding earlier crops than almost any other part of Great Britain, a fact which was deemed a miracle in past and darker ages. It does not seem to have had any special name, but to have been spoken of as the I, Ia, or Io, *i.e.* the Island. Upon this remote and secluded island, guarded from intrusion by the waves of a dangerous sea, Columba determined to found a monastery, where he and his disciples might live in absolute retirement, remote from the distractions of the world, where they might live in sweet spiritual communion, and perform their devotions undisturbed by the cares of life, and whence they might go forth like the apostles of old to evangelize the benighted heathens of the Scottish and Pictish mainland. Columba obtained a grant of the island from his kinsman, Conall, son of Comghall, King of the Scots, with a confirmation thereof from Bruidi, King of the Picts.

He sailed thither in 563, when in his forty-second year, to take possession of his territory of two thousand acres, accompanied by twelve disciples, whom he had selected for their holiness and zeal in the service of God—men who feared not to encounter brutal passions and savage ferocity, and even to hazard their lives, so that they might extend the kingdom of Christ, and win souls from the thralldom of Satan. They built a habitation and a church of wattles and mud, covered them with thatch, and furnished the church with rudely fashioned earthen vessels for use in the celebration of the sacraments. From this time the island began to be called I-Columb-Kille—the Island of Columba of the Church, afterwards Icomkill and Iona. From hence he and his disciples went forth amongst the Picts, whose country lay northwards of the Grampians, and who, although partially converted to Christianity by St. Ninian in the previous century, were practically heathens. They founded in course of time monasteries of a humble character in various parts of the mainland, and in the Hebrides and Orkneys, to serve as missionary stations for the promulgation of the faith they held. Afterwards they went amongst the Scots, and into the borderland between North and South Britain, on the banks of the Tweed, preaching and teaching and establishing colonies of monks in religious houses to serve as centres of light for irradiating the surrounding gloom. Columba died in his seventy-seventh year, whilst kneeling before the altar of his church, in the year 597. He was the first abbot, and was followed by a succession of others who emulated his Christian virtues and exemplary energy in spreading the truth.

The monastery became one of the most important and illustrious in the British Islands, the home of the devout, the seat of learning and education, and the disseminator of the seeds of civilization. It was frequently devastated by the Norsemen, who burnt it in 795, and again in 802; slaughtered sixty-eight of the monks in 806; others in 825; and the abbot and fifteen monks on Christmas eve in 986. Yet it ever again arose from its ashes in renewed and greater splendour; afterwards adopted the Clugniac order, and at the Reformation was converted into an episcopal see, with the abbey church as the cathedral of the Bishop of the Isles.

The Border lands lying north and south of the Tweed and the Cheviot Hills, which separated Scotland from Northumbria, were at this time inhabited by a lawless ferocious race, constantly at war with each other, and passing over the border for the purpose of pillage, murder, and devastation, and was the route taken by the more northern Picts, when they

chose to make a raid into Northumbria; hence Tweeddale and Teviotdale were seldom free from the passing of the half-naked Picts of the north to or from their marauding expeditions, or of the Northumbrians in pursuit of them, or in retaliating raids, the Borderers suffering by the burning of their homesteads, the plunder of their moveables, and the massacre of themselves and their families. Amongst these people Columba planted two missionary colonies, one at Dryburgh, the other at Melrose, within a short distance of each other, both on the banks of the Tweed, and both situated in the bends of the river, where it serpentine its way through the then thick forest lands, rocks, hills, and picturesque scenery of the region.

Of this early Dryburgh monastery we know very little, but it would doubtless be built in the usual wattle and thatch style, and would seem, from the history of St. Modon, to have been planted soon after Columba came to Iona, for it is stated that Modon dedicated himself to God at Dryburgh in the year 522, the year after the birth of Columba, from which it may be inferred that either there was a religious establishment there of an older date, or that there is a chronological error in the statement that Modon came there in 522; indeed some authorities assert that he flourished at a considerably later period, from fifty to one hundred years afterwards. However that may be, he seems to have been one of the abbots of this primitive Dryburgh, and the most distinguished of them. We are told that "being persuaded that Christian perfection is to be attained by holy prayer and contemplation, and by a close union of our souls with God, he gave six or seven hours every day to prayer, and moreover seasoned with it all his other actions and employments; he crucified his flesh and senses by the practice of the greatest austerities; placed himself, by the most profound and sincere humility, beneath all creatures, and in all things subjected his will to that of his superiors with such an astonishing readiness and cheerfulness, that they unanimously declared they never saw any one so perfectly divested of self-will, and dead to himself as well." When the abbacy fell vacant the monks with one voice nominated him to the office, despite his protestations of unfitness and unworthiness, and it was only after re-iterated appeals that he reluctantly consented to assume the government of the house; but his conduct in that position demonstrated the wisdom of the monks in their selection. "His inflexible firmness in maintaining every point of discipline was tempered by the most winning sweetness and charity, and an unalterable calmness and meekness, and the charge of his conduct was a clear proof that no man possesses the art of governing others well unless he is perfectly master of that of obeying." At intervals he went on apostolic tours, preaching the gospel with great success at Falkirk, Stirling, and other towns and villages near the Forth. At others he was wont to retire, for thirty or forty days at a time, into the solitary recesses of the rocks and woods of Alclud (Dumbarton), spending the time "in the heavenly exercise of devout contemplation, and in anticipating or obtaining a foretaste of the blessedness of Heaven," and in this retirement he died after a long and useful life spent in the service of God, in benefitting his fellow-creatures, and in preparing his own soul for life beyond the grave. His relics were enshrined in the church of Rosneath, where for several centuries they were held in the utmost veneration; and the people of Stirling, in grateful remembrance of his labours there, dedicated to him the High Church of the town.

Of this community little further is known, save that the church and house were desolated and destroyed by Ida, the Saxon freebooter and founder of the kingdom of Northumbria, who landed at Flamborough, in Yorkshire, in 547, and who, after innumerable battles and skirmishes with the warlike Brigantes of the district north of the Humber, passed the Tees and the Tweed, and carried his victorious sword as far north as the Forth. He was surnamed "The Flame-bearer," and proved the applicability of the appellation by burning everything—houses, crops, religious establishments, and churches—that lay in his route. There is no doubt but that it uprose again, and was rebuilt in a more substantial style, and that it was afterwards frequently subjected to the visits of the Norsemen, and often destroyed and rebuilt or repaired, for in the ruins still existing may be seen portions of Saxon masonry.

It seems to be tolerably clear that Dryburgh was dedicated to Christian worship from a very early period, as far back probably as the fourth or fifth century, and that until the sixteenth, the imploring accents of prayer and the vocal chaunt of psalms and hymns never ceased to be heard in its precincts, excepting during periods of disaster and dispersion; and even before that remote period there is reason for supposing that it was a spot where the mysterious rites of Druidical worship were celebrated, and well adapted was it by nature for such ceremonial. The Druids required, as essentials in their worship, a grove of oaks, the encircling trees to form the walls of their temple, with the sky for its roof, a stream or pool of water from whence to draw the emblematical Noah, and a rising ground on which to place him, as representative of Ararat. In all these respects, Darach-Bruach—the Bank of the Oaks-grove—as the spot was then called, answered to the demand. It is situated on the north side



TOMB OF SIR WALTER SCOTT.

of the Tweed, about a mile below Melrose, on a peninsula of fifty-two acres, formed by a curve of the river, which flows on three sides of it; whilst to the north the ground, then thickly timbered with oaks, slopes up gently to the foot of Dryburgh Hill, which rises to the height of a thousand feet, and is now crowned by a colossal statue of Wallace. Thus there was every requisite—the oak-grove, with the circular clearing for the temple; the trees from which to cut the mistletoe, which played so important a part in the rites; the stream from which to draw the symbolic beaver; and the hill on which to place it. This supposition derives a certain amount of confirmation from the fact of a Druidical sacrificial knife having been found in the neighbouring Bass Hill, assumed to have been a burial ground, which is now in possession of the Earl of Buchan.

About a mile west of Dryburgh there is a ford across the river, and close by are some fragmentary remains of an ecclesiastical building; they stand in a pasture called Chapel Field, and the passage over the river is called Monk's ford, which have led some authorities to conjecture that this may have been the site of the ancient monastery, and that the fragments

of stones are portions of the Saxon church; but it seems much more probable that the monks of Dryburgh erected a chapel here, as an offshoot of their establishment, for the benefit of wayfarers, who might offer up a prayer within its walls, or attend a celebration of the mass, without the extra toil of travelling to and from the abbey for that purpose. On the site there stood a magnificent and venerable ash tree, with a trunk twelve feet in circumference, which was cut down within the present century by the owner, to make a turnip-roller.

Sorely was the old monastery battered and bruised and plundered, sometimes destroyed altogether, and its inhabitants dispersed or martyred by enemies of various races—the English, the Picts, the Danes, and the Norse, for at times it lay under the rule of the Scottish kings, at others within the realm of Northumbria, or under the sceptre of the kings of united England. It lay in the way of soldiers alike making raids upon English lands, or of invaders



ST. MARY'S AISLE.

from South Britain making reprisals upon the northern section of the island, in all cases suffering from the lawless propensities of such passers-by, and so for a long period it remained a mere wreck of what it had been, with dilapidated buildings, sequestered revenues, and a fraternity sadly diminished in number, and lacking in an eminent degree the religious fervour and the holy zeal of the brethren of former days, until the time when King David the First—Saint David—ascended the Scottish throne.

The Premonstratensian Abbey.

King David was the youngest of the six sons of King Malcolm Ceanmohr, by his second wife Margaret, grand-daughter of King Edmund Ironside, and sister of Eadger the Ætheling, the representative of the royal race of Wessex. He was born in the year 1080, and inherited the piety of his mother Saint Margaret. His father died in 1093, when a fierce struggle took place with the old Celtic dynasties, supported by the wild tribes of the north and west, during

which Prince David with his sister Eadgyth or Matilda, who afterwards married King Henry I., fled for refuge to England, where he remained several years, imbibing sentiments of religion, and learning the arts of civilization, which he introduced into Scotland when he succeeded to the throne. Alexander, his elder brother, fought his way to his father's throne, which he ascended in 1107, and David became Prince of Cumbria. In 1110 he married Margaret, relict of Simon St. Liz, and daughter of the famous Waltheof, Earl of Northumbria, Huntingdon, and Northampton. She brought with her, her two sons, Simon and Waltheof, the former of whom succeeded to the Earldom of Huntingdon, and the latter became Abbot of Melrose (*q.v.*) She had issue by David a son Henry; and the three boys were brought up together, along with Ailred, as their companion and instructor, who had been brought from Northumbria by Margaret, and who afterwards became Abbot of Rievaulx. He wrote amongst other works a chronicle of the Saxon and Norman Kings of England, preceded by a Life of King David; *Vita S. Margarete, Reginae Scotiae*; Histories of the Abbeys of Fountains and St. Mary's, York; an account of the Battle of the Standard, etc. He exercised great influence for the good over David and his Queen, and the three boys, especially Waltheof; died in 1166, and was canonized in 1191. With Margaret the king obtained extensive landed possessions in England, and three years after his marriage he founded a Benedictine Abbey near Selkirk. In 1124 he succeeded his brother to the crown, but had a hard struggle to maintain it against the attacks of the Celts, which he succeeded in doing by the aid of several Anglo-Normans, the Bruces, the Percies, the Morvilles, the Umfravilles, and others whom he had gathered round his throne. In 1127 he had sworn to support the claim of his niece, Matilda, to the crown of England, in case her father, Henry I., should die without male issue. This event occurred in 1135, when Stephen succeeded, to the exclusion of Matilda, who had married, first, the Emperor Henry IV., and secondly, Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou. In her behalf King David invaded England, penetrated to the south of Durham, but a peace was patched up, which was however soon broken, when David again invaded England, and got as far south as Northallerton, in Yorkshire, where he was signally defeated at the battle of the Standard in 1138. In a third invasion, in 1141, he was equally unfortunate, escaping to Scotland with great difficulty. The remainder of his reign was more especially devoted to the promotion of the welfare of his kingdom, and the advancement of Christianity, by establishing bishoprics; founding abbeys; building castles for protection; chartering boroughs for the extension of trade; promulgating good laws; dispensing strict justice to all classes alike; fostering improvements in agriculture, "so that a country formerly barren and indigent, was now able out of its abundance to supply the necessities of its neighbours," and taught his subjects "to clothe their former nakedness with purple and linen in lieu of hairy skins." He founded the abbey of Kelso in 1128, refounded that of Mailros in 1136, either founded or restored that of Jedburgh, which he peopled with Augustine canons, and founded a Cistercian nunnery at Jedburgh. He died at Carlisle in 1153, and was succeeded by his grandson Malcolm, son of Prince Henry, who had predeceased his father. His portrait forms an illumination of a charter which he granted to Kelso, which is still preserved, and is supposed to be the oldest Scottish painting extant.

The example set by King David, in the way of abbey-building, was followed by his courtiers, amongst whom it became a fashion, who thus secured a three-fold benefit—gaining the favour of the pious king, winning a reputation for piety themselves, and at the same time benefitting their souls. Amongst others who surrounded the throne of David was one Hugh de Morville, who came from Burgh-on-the-Sands, in Cumberland, along with the Prince of Cumbria, when he came to take possession of the crown of Scotland. The De Morvilles were of Norman descent, and obtained the Barony of Burgh, probably by marriage, from the Engaine family, and Hugh was uncle to Sir Hugh de Moreville, one of the murderers of Thomas à Becket, who in atonement for his crime, presented the rectory of Burgh to the abbey of

Holm-Cultrum. De Moreville acquired extensive possessions in Lauderdale and the Lothians, and above all in Cuninghame, on the north bank of the Irvine. He was appointed by King David Constable of Scotland, who made the office hereditary in his family. He married Beatrice de Bello Campo, or Beauchamp, and died in 1162, leaving issue a son, Richard, chief minister to William the Lion, who married Alicia de Lancaster, and died in 1189, leaving issue William and Elena. William died in 1196, without legitimate issue, when Elena, his sister and heiress, who married the Earl of Galloway, carried the estates and the office of Constable to that family.

De Moreville and his wife Beatrix, foremost people at the court of King David, feeling themselves bound, especially, perhaps, the lady, to fall in with the fashionable mania of the age, in the way of religion, and promote the future welfare of their souls into the bargain, resolved to found an abbey, and fixed upon the peninsular plot of land on the northern bank of the Tweed, near the king's abbey of Mailros, so as to be still more within the pale of fashion, as to the locality where it should be built. A question then arose as to the monastic order, and nothing could suit them better than the Premonstratensian order, then newly established. The Benedictine order was old-fashioned, and the Augustine deduced their descent from the apostolic age,—a world of ages ago, but the Premonstratensians were only thirty years old, had been introduced into England only four years ago, and was therefore the most novel phase of fashionable religion, consequently they determined that their abbey should be Premonstratensian.

Dugdale supposed that it was founded by King David, from a certain expression in the original charter, in which he makes a grant of certain lands, churches, tithes, etc., to the church of St. Mary at Dryburgh, "founded by us," but this is a mere form of speech, signifying that it was done by his consent, under his authority, and with his aid in the way of endowment.

The Premonstratensians, or White Canons, form an order slightly modified from that of St. Augustine, based on the same rules, those of poverty and community of goods, and less strict than those of St. Benedict, and was formed by Norbert, Archbishop of Magdeburgh. St. Norbert was born towards the end of the eleventh century, of a noble family at Zanten, on the Lower Rhine, was educated for the church, entered the priesthood, and became a Canon of Zanten and of Cologne. He was a courtier and favourite at the court of the Emperor Henry V., but after awhile became impressed with religious sentiments, and the vanity and hollowness of worldly things, and leaving the court, he retired to a monastery, clad himself in sheepskins, and, by authority of Pope Gelasius II., traversed the country as a reformer and apostle. He was naturally eloquent and persuasive in his style of oratory, but he is moreover reported to have possessed the gift of tongues, so that he was understood by people of every language, as if he spoke in their own tongue, and is said also to have had the power of performing miracles, which assisted materially in convincing his hearers of the truth of what he taught. Struck with the carelessness and irregularities of the priests and monks of the time, he resolved upon establishing an order of monks or canons that should consist of men selected for their devout zeal and eloquent speech, who should combine the functions of the two classes, living together under rule and in community, and going forth to preach to the people; and in the year 1120 obtained papal authority for carrying out his object. When pondering over the question as to where he should establish his house, it is said an angel appeared to him in a vision, and pointed out a meadow near Laon, a lonely spot in the forest of Coucy, where there already was a small religious house, built there because "the Blessed Virgin had indicated it as the future site of a highly honoured religious community." Hence it was given the name of Premontré, or, in Latin, Præmonstatus—the foreshewn spot, and the brethren were called Premonstratensians. Norbert passed a night in this small monastery, and was favoured with two visions, one from St. Augustine, who presented him with

a book bound in gold, containing the rules of his order, saying, "Take these rules which I have written; if thy brethren observe them faithfully, they, like my other children, need fear nothing in the day of judgment." The other was a vision of the Blessed Virgin herself, who shewed patterns of the dress to be worn by the canons, consisting of a white cassock, with rochet and cape, a long white cloak, a square hat of white felt, breeches, and shoes, but no shirt; the abbot to wear red shoes and a short cloak, and to wield, as his emblem of office, a pastoral staff, shaped like a shepherd's crook. So we are told by a legend, and it was all piously credited as a fact so long as the Premonstratensians lasted. Here he built his monastery, collected around him the best men he could find for his purpose, and drilled them well in the duties they had to perform,—those of attending the regular services of the church, directing the consciences of the laity in the confessional, and preaching to the people.



FROM THE CLOISTER COURT.

The order spread with great rapidity, especially over France, the Low Countries, and some parts of Germany, so that by the end of the fifteenth century there were in Europe fifteen hundred monasteries and five hundred nunneries. About a century afterwards a relaxation of discipline and observance of the rules grew up, when a section brought out some reformed rules, but remained in unity with the general body, and they were generally adopted in 1630; but since then the order has declined, and has almost entirely disappeared, excepting in Austria, where there are still some large but thinly-peopled houses. In the year 1127 Norbert was nominated Archbishop of Magdeburgh, but he remained the supreme head of the order until his death, which occurred in 1134. He was canonized in 1582 by Pope Gregory XIII.

The order was introduced into England by Peter de Saulia, or Gosla, who, in 1146, founded a house at Newhouse, in Lincolnshire, dedicated to St. Martialis. A second was established in 1150, at Alnwick, in Northumberland, by Eustace St. John, which was colonized by canons from Newhouse. Dryburgh was the first Scottish house of the order, and the third in order of date in the island of Britain, which was founded the same year, and peopled from Alnwick, when finished in 1152.

A description of the daily routine of duties of the Premonstratensians will furnish a tolerable idea of the mode of life within the walls of Dryburgh. It consisted of religious exercises; the cultivation of their fields, and the performance of their household duties; hearing the confessions of the laity; going abroad to preach, teach, and visit the sick and dying; and reading and copying manuscripts. The religious services in the church occurred seven times in the day. Early in the morning the canons were awakened for matins by the dormitory bell, which was rung as long as the seven penitential psalms could be repeated, giving the brethren time to perform their private devotions. Then, with the prior at their head, they walked in procession into the choir, kneeling in the middle, and bowing to the altar, after which they took their seats, and the service was performed. Then they returned to their beds and lay until prime (6 a.m.), when they again rose and attended ordinary mass,



FROM THE NORTH.

and such private masses as were appointed to be celebrated at any of the side altars. After this some remained in the church in private prayer, and others went for confession to the chapter house, remaining so occupied until the chapter bell rung, summoning them, including those employed in the fields and garden, to the daily meeting of the chapter. On entering, each bowed to the place of dignity, and the abbot bestowed his blessing on them. Then followed prayer, and a lesson from the rules, followed by the names of those appointed for particular duties during the day, each one, on the mention of his name, bowing reverently in token of obedience. The events of the past day were then inserted in the register, and if there had occurred a death, the abbot pronounced absolution upon the departed, unless there were any reason to suppose that he had died in sin. If any one had been guilty of a fault, he was examined, and, if penitent, threw himself prostrate on the floor, making humble confession, and imploring forgiveness; but if not sufficiently penitent, was reprimanded, and if refractory, was punished in some form or other, there and then, by the prior or deputy prior. Business was concluded by repeating the hundred and thirtieth Psalm, excepting on high festivals, when the abbot simply said, "Our help is in the name of the Lord," to which the

canons added in chorus, "who made heaven and earth."

When the chapter business came to an end, which was usually by 9 a.m., those who were drafted off for secular business, went out to perform such duties; and the others, preceded by the precentor, singing "Salve Regina," went in procession to the church to hear high mass, in summer, which in winter was performed at noon. At 1 p.m. they dined, the abbot, if present, asking a blessing; portions of Scripture were read from a side desk during the meal, the canons taking that duty weekly in turn, as they did also in acting as servitors to the others. The dinner consisted of two dishes only, excepting on special occasions, when a third, of a more palatable kind—a "pittance"—was added. Those who came late had to repeat a Paternoster or Ave Maria, to sit at the bottom of the table, and were allowed neither beer nor wine, excepting by the special permission of the abbot. After dinner they were allowed until nones (3 p.m.) a period of repose, which some spent in conversation, others in sleep, when there was another church service. At the conclusion they washed their hands, and sat or sauntered in the cloisters until a bell summoned them to the refectory to partake of some beverage. After this followed the vespers, and later on, about 7 p.m., the compline, the last service of the day, which was followed by the collatio, a light supper, and after that to bed. They all slept together in one or more large dormitories, but each in a separate bed, without sheets or linen of any kind, excepting when they were laid up with sickness in the infirmary, and lay in the same clothes, excepting their shoes, which they had worn during the day.

Besides the forty days' Lenten fast, they kept another from Holyrood (Sep. 14) to Easter, when they partook of no food after nones, and abstained entirely from flesh meat. About the middle of the thirteenth century they began to lessen the rigour of the latter fast, and in 1460 Pope Pius II. gave them authority to dispense with it altogether.

During haytime and harvest they went to the fields by daybreak, and did not return until vespers, but were bound, when the service bells rung, to recite certain prayers in the field. On festival days they abstained from secular work altogether, and spent the usual working hours in reading. As a rule, they had no schools connected with their houses for teaching reading and writing, yet Dryburgh appears to have been an exception, as it is recorded that Ralph Strode, the poet and philosopher, was educated within its walls. They admitted no one into the brotherhood who was ignorant of Latin, and thus secured a well-educated class of canons; but the lay-brethren were of a lower and uncultured order, whom they taught to repeat the Paternoster, Ave Maria, with other prayers and the creed, but did not allow them the use of books, even if they were able to read.

At first the Premonstratensians subsisted by the labour of their own hands, when men of genuine piety alone threw in their lot with them, but that piety attracted attention, and wealthy persons bestowed lands and riches upon them in exchange for the benefit of their prayers, whilst those riches lessened the tone of their piety, and brought in men of worldly minds and lax in morals for the sake of the loaves and fishes, and eventually engendered so much corruption that it led to their downfall. The monasteries of the order were subject to no episcopal supervision, paid no tithes, and the canons were exempt from citation before secular tribunals. The rules of the order underwent many modifications and additions, the documents relating to which have been collected in a ponderous folio volume entitled *Bibliotheca Premonstratensis*.

The history of the abbey of Dryburgh is very fragmentary, very few documents relating to its domestic annals having escaped the hands of the plunderer and the fires of the incendiary, whilst others which did survive have perished since by neglect. The abbey was very unfortunately situated, like its neighbours, Melrose and Kelso, in the direct path of invading armies from both sides of the Tweed, who generally were not very scrupulous as to whom they plundered; and of the maurading cattle-lifters, English or Scotch, who were equally

unpunctilious if a flock of sheep or herd of cattle belonging to the church came in their way. Happily, however, the Chartulary—the *Liber Sanctæ Mariæ de Dryburgh*—escaped their sacrilegious hands, and is preserved in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. It contains a long list of the possessions, with copies of the title-deeds and other particulars relating to them. Their lands, houses, churches, and mills were scattered far and wide over various counties, rendering it difficult sometimes to collect the rents and tithes. The Chartulary was published in 1847, by the Bannatyne club, entitled, *Liber S. Mariæ de Dryburgh; Registrum Cartarum Abbacie Præmonstratensis de Dryburgh*.

The abbey was founded by Hugh de Moreville and Beatrix his wife in the year 1150, and the cemetery consecrated on St. Martin's Day, in the same year, a necessary precaution, lest demons, perceiving the object of the rising buildings, should take possession of it, and haunt it ever afterwards, or until they should be exorcised, their expulsion sometimes being a difficult and tedious process. The buildings, however, were not ready for habitation until two years afterwards, and it was not till December, 1152, that a colony of monks from Alnwick, with Roger, their abbot, took possession of their new home. It would appear that the church was not then completed, if commenced, but a temporary oratory, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, would be constructed for the celebration of Divine Service, until the church should be built.

The following is a list of the abbots as far as is known, with a narrative of the events which occurred during their abbacies, but there are many intervals in the sequence, which, through lapse of time and the loss of documentary evidence, cannot, in the present state of our knowledge, be filled up.

The Abbots of Dryburgh.

ROGER, formerly a canon of Alnwick, was the first abbot. He was nominated in 1152, and resigned in 1177. He obtained three bulls from Pope Alexander III., in confirmation of grants made to the abbey, and giving permission to the brethren to celebrate Divine Service with closed doors, and without the ringing of bells, at times when the kingdom should be under interdict.

GIRARDUS, the prior, succeeded him, 1177—1184, who, in the last year of his abbacy, procured from Pope Lucius III. a general bull of privileges and confirmation of grants of lands, churches, teinds, etc. He is described in the *Chronicon de Mailros* as having been "a person of much gravity," and, when he died, "full of days, fragrant of renown, and a most devout worshipper of the Blessed Virgin."

RICHARD occurs in 1190, when he was witness to a covenant between the High Steward and the Abbey of Kelso.

ALAN occurs in 1196.

GALFRID resigned in 1208 to become Abbot of Alnwick. In 1203 he was deputed, with the Bishop of St. Andrews and others, to settle a dispute between the Abbey of Kelso and William de Vipont, relative to the burial of De Vipont's father in the churchyard of Kelso; and afterwards as Papal delegate to arrange a disagreement between the Abbey of Melrose and William de Hunum respecting some land at Rosaire.

WILLIAM, formerly prior, occurs in 1208, when a new cemetery was consecrated by William de Malvoisin, Bishop of St. Andrews.

HUGH occurs in 1221 and 1228. He was appointed as Papal delegate in the former year to arbitrate between the Abbey of Kelso and Alan de Montgomerie on a tithe question, and in the same year to decide a dispute between the Abbeys of Dunfermline and Cupar. In the latter year he was engaged, in behalf of the Abbey of Dunfermline, on a tithe question, against the Prior of May, respecting the church of Kilrennie. Dunfermline claimed tithe of the fish caught in the river which separates the parish of Kilrennie, belonging to Dunfermline, from that of Anstruther, belonging to May, because the fishing-boats which lay in the river were moored to the Kilrennie shore. The matter was compromised by May taking the tithe and paying a merk yearly to Dunfermline.

WALTER, of whom nothing further is known, resigned in 1240.

JOHN, a canon of the house previously, succeeded in 1240. He assisted in the settlement of a dispute between the monks of Kelso and their tenants in Clydesdale, and in 1245 in arranging terms for terminating a controversy between the Priory of St. Andrews and the nuns of Haddington relating to the tithes of Stephestun.

OLIVER occurs in 1262, when he and the Abbot of Kelso were witnesses to a grant to the Abbey of Melrose of the privilege of fishing in Malcareston, "for the support and recreation" of the monks. His name occurs also in 1269. In this century, sometime about this period, two houses of Premonstratensian canons were planted in Ireland, and peopled with canons from Dryburgh; one at Druin le Croix, or Drum Cross, in County Armagh, and the other at Woodburn, County Antrim.

THOMAS probably succeeded Oliver, as he granted a charter, without date, supposed to be 1270, of lands to Richard, Chaplain to Alan Lord Galloway.

WILLIAM occurs in 1296, when he, with the canons, submitted to Edward I. of England, and took an oath of fidelity to him at Berwick, when they had a restoration of their lands, which had been confiscated by that monarch, the letters of restoration being directed to the Sheriffs of Fife, Berwick, Roxburgh, and Edinburgh. His name also occurs in 1316, in connection with the privilege of exemption from episcopal authority, which, although granted by the Pope, does not appear to have been recognised in Scotland, when he was summoned to attend a synodal meeting at Haddington held under the authority of the Bishop of St. Andrews.

ROGER, between 1324 and 1328, was witness to a charter from Sir John Graham, conveying Eskdale to the Abbey of Melrose. He was probably abbot in 1322, when King Edward II. was returning from his disastrous invasion of Scotland. The king and his army, on their march from Berwick to oppose the Scots, who were ravaging Yorkshire after defeating the clerical army at Myton-on-Swale, encamped on the heights above Dryburgh. They were suffering from famine, and sent a demand to the abbey for a supply of provisions; but the canons, who had secreted their supplies, and lay themselves in hiding, made no response to the demand, upon which the army broke into the abbey, satisfied their hunger with what they could lay their hands upon, robbed it of whatever valuables came in their way, and then passed on. They had not gone far when the canons came out, and foolishly set their bells ringing in exultation at their departure, and as it were mocking and jeering them at having been discomfited. This so exasperated the king that he returned, the canons flying back to their hiding-places, and burnt the abbey to the ground in revenge. Barbour says that at Melrose the fire did not extend beyond the cloisters, but that Dryburgh was burnt altogether, leaving but a few blackened walls. King Robert contributed liberally to the restoration of the abbey, but it is supposed that the church was never afterwards entirely rebuilt, certainly not in its previous splendour. Lumps of melted lead and masses of fused glass are found in the debris, which are presumed to be relics of the fire.

About this time flourished PATRICK, one of the canons, a philosopher, divine, orator, and poet, and reckoned one of the most learned and eloquent men of the age in Scotland. He wrote a poem on the destruction of the monastery, which he addressed to the king and to the superiors of the religious houses of Scotland.

DAVID occurs in 1324 and in 1329 as witness to a Kelso charter; he is also referred to in the register of Glasgow in 1338. In 1342 the Bishop of St. Andrews, "in consideration of the charity of the canons, and the debts they had incurred in rebuilding their monastery," granted them permission to appropriate the revenues of the churches in his diocese of which they held the patronage, on condition that they supplied a canon to perform the duties of vicar in each church.

ANDREW occurs in 1354. It appears that about this time great disorder prevailed in the house. Dempster, in his *Hist. Eccles.*, says,—“It was found that strife and debate had existed, and blows had been dealt, not only among themselves, but to other religious persons and secular clerks. Some of the brethren had infringed the rule which forbade the possession of personal property; some had obtained admission into the convent by simony; and others who lay under censures had been admitted to Holy Orders, and had even exercised the sacred functions in that unhallowed state. For these offences they had been cut off from the communion of the church, and could not upon submission be lawfully restored without appearing personally at the Apostolical See. But the observance of this obligation was inconvenient, and involved consequences perilous to their souls; for in so long a journey, during which they were necessarily removed from observation and control, they were apt to fall into irregularities, to wander about at their ease, and to contract vagabond habits of life. These things being represented to the Pope (Gregory XI.), he, in the second year of his pontificate, gave the abbot power, according to his discretion, to absolve the least guilty, upon due penance done; but more enormous offenders were still to be sent to receive correction and absolution at the Papal Court.”

At this period the abbeys of the Border Lands were entirely under the influence of England. In 1335 the four abbots of Teviotdale sanctioned by their presence the surrender of the kingdom, by Edward Baliol to Edward III. of England, at Roxburgh; and in 1373 the same king granted to the four abbots a warrant for shipping eighty sacks of wool, at Berwick, at the reduced duty of half a mark per sack.

RALPH STRODE, the philosopher and poet, spent his early life as a scholar and student within the walls of Dryburgh, about the middle of the century. He devoted himself to literature, and displayed so ardent a love for learning that the King of Scotland sent him to Merton College, Oxford, to pursue a higher range of studies, and in process of time he became a fellow of his college. He was a friend of Chaucer, who inscribed his *Trilist and Cresside* to “the moral Gower and the philosophical Strode.” After completing his studies, he travelled through Germany and France into Italy, possibly with Chaucer, and was in Milan in 1368, where he made the acquaintance of Petrarch. Hence he proceeded to Palestine, and on his return wrote a narrative of his journey. After this he was for some time a tutor at Merton College, and had for one of his pupils, Lewis, son of Geoffrey Chaucer. He is represented by some as favouring the principles of Wycliffe, and by others as an opponent of the reformer; but the title of one of his works is sufficiently conclusive on this point. The following is a list of his writings:—“*Fabulæ lepidæ versu*,” “*Consequentiarum formulæ*,” “*Sophismata Strophicæ*,” “*Itinerarium Sanctæ Terræ*,” “*Panegyrici versu Patrio*,” “*Carmen Elegiacum*,” “*Summutæ Logicales*,” “*Phantasma Radulphi*,” “*Positiones et XXVIII. Argumenta, contra Wicleffum Hæreticum*.” The latter work brought forth a reply from Wycliffe, entitled “*Responsiones ad XVI. Argumenta Radulphi Strodi*,” the MS. of which is in the Imperial Library, Vienna. Fabricius says he was of the Order of Preaching Friars, and was Poet Laureate at Oxford. He thus refers to Strode,—“*Radulphi Strode*,

non Anglus sed Scotus, in monasterio Dryburgh, provincie Teviotdale educatus: ord. Fratrum Predicatorum, Poeta Laureatus Oxoni, diu studii socius Collegii Mertonensis; Gallium peragravit et Italiam, Syriam, item et Terram Sanctam; contra Wiclefi dogmata acriter disputans circa A.D. 1370, Musices quoque fuit studiosus, Scripsit Fabulas, Panegyricos, Consequentiarum Formulas (Ven. 1517, 4to. impressas), etc."

In the year 1385 France and Scotland entered into an alliance for the invasion of England, but met with little success. In retaliation, the English king—Richard II.—marched an army across the Borders, penetrated Scotland as far as Aberdeen, laying in ashes, as he went along, Edinburgh, Dunfermline, Perth, and Dundee, and on his return burning the abbeys of Dryburgh, Melrose, and Kelso. For the restoration of the buildings, King Robert made a grant to Dryburgh of the lands held by the Cistercian Nunnery of South Berwick, which was suppressed because of the "dissolute and incontinent lives" of the nuns, who, however, were at this time only two in number. Three years after this occurred the famous Border battle of Otterburne, known in ballad lore by the name of *Chevy Chase*, between the Douglasses and the Percies, the latter, who were the aggressors, getting the worst of the fray.

JOHN occurs in 1398, when he was witness to an obligation of Archibald McDowell for the relief granted by the crown, "for the new werke of the Kirke of Melros;" and was present, in 1410, when the Bishop of St. Andrews confirmed the confiscation of the lands of the Berwick nuns. An impression of his seal is still extant—an oval, with a figure of a horse passant, and an outspread human hand, with the legend "F.R.A.T.R.I.S J.O.H.A.N.N.I.S M.O.R.E.L.L."

THOMAS occurs in 1434, when he acted as Papal Delegate to determine a claim made by the Abbey of Kelso to a chantry founded by Roger de Auldton.

JAMES occurs in 1444, when a suit was determined by the four abbots of Teviotdale, in St. Mary Magdalen's Chapel of the Hospital of Rutherford.

WALTER occurs in 1465 and 1466, in which latter year "William Craynston, of Corsby, Knight, as Justicier besouth Forth, specially constitute, granted a commission to Walter, Abbot of Dryburgh;" also in 1473, when he brought an action against Lord Hamilton, "for ye wrangis occupation of ye lands of Ingilberisgrange," but the Lords Auditors found that Lord Hamilton "dois na wrang in the occupation of ye lands;" and it would probably be he who is mentioned in a suit, in 1476, brought by "the venerable faider in God, the Abbot and Convent of Dryburgh, agains Adame Edgar and Paule Christy for wrangous occupation, etc."

JOHN CRAWFURD was abbot in 1479, and died the following year. He also prosecuted a suit for "wrangwise occupation of the Kirklands at Saltoun," against John Dewar, the Lords of the Council deciding that "the said John Dewar sall incontinent devoid and red the said landis to be broukit and joyist by the said Abbot and Convent."

Dean DAVID DEWAR, a canon of Dryburgh, and Vicar of Mertoun, claimed the abbacy on the death of John in 1480, and exercised some of the functions of the office, such as granting holdings of lands, which in consequence of his not having been formally elected, gave rise to some litigation, records of which are met with 1480-1-2.

ANDREW LIDERDALE occurs in 1489, and was in office at least until 1506.

JAMES STEWART seems to have succeeded Andrew. He was the natural son of Stewart of Ancrum, and was legitimated to enable him to hold the office.

DAVID FINLAYSON, a canon, from 1489, and Vicar of Gullayne in 1509, petitioned the king in the latter year to be nominated to the office, but there is no record that his request was complied with.

The Commendators and the Dissolution.

From this time Dryburgh ceased to be a religious house, and was held *in commendam*, by commendators, a class of persons appointed originally to act as stewards or trustees of vacant benefices or other ecclesiastical institutions, to receive and account for the revenues, but afterwards were appointed for life, with power to appropriate the profits to their own use. It became thus, in fact, a disguise for plurality, in evasion of a canon of the second Council of Nice, which forbade anyone holding more than one benefice or other clerical office.

ANDREW FORMAN was the first commendator, and was nominated to the office in 1512. He was a younger son of the Laird of Halton, in Berwickshire, and was a man of considerable consequence during the reigns of James IV. and V., was continually and actively employed in the chief affairs of church and state, displaying great tact and talent in bringing to a successful issue the negotiations he undertook. He was a great pluralist, holding several benefices; was recognised by the monks of the Isle of May as their Prior in 1498; three years afterwards he became Prior of Coldingham and of Pittenween; in 1498 he was the Pope's Protonotary, and afterwards Legate à Latere; in 1501 he was Postulate for the Bishop of Moray, in which capacity he was commissioned along with Robert, Archbishop of Glasgow, and Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, to treat for the marriage of King James IV. with

Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. of England. In the year 1510 he was sent on an embassy to Pope Julius II., of which Lindsay gives the following interesting and humorous account:—"In the mean time there was an abbot in Scotland of the name of Andrew Forman, who was passing to Rome on business, who rode on his own mule through England, where he was received and very well treated by Henry VIII., and that for the King of Scots' sake. He then passed forward to Rome, where he was received by the Pope and treated as a stranger. At this time Louis, King of France, and Pope Julius fell at discord, and the Pope collected an army of a hundred thousand men to march against Louis Bourbon, as he was called, and to give him battle if he would not yield to his desires. The King of France, seeing the Pope's rigorousness against him, raised fourscore thousand men, and took the field manfully against him with a triumphant army. The armies met within a Scot's mile of each other, at the sound of a trumpet. The noble abbot—Forman—being with the Pope at the time, requested His Holiness' leave to go and speak with the King of France, to draw some good ways; and being concerned for the evil of both parties, he was permitted by the Pope, who was right glad at the desire. The abbot went immediately to where the French king was lying at the head of his army, who received the holy abbot with reverence, and treated him very kindly for the King of Scots' sake, and was very blithe at his coming, trusting that he would not permit the Pope to give him battle, and on that account granted the abbot many of his requests. . . . The abbot returned to His Holiness with concessions on the part of the king, and they embraced each other, agreeing upon all matters debateable between them, by the labours and counsels of this holy abbot, who was very richly rewarded, and obtained great favour of the great men of both parties (and well he might, as he saved many lives that day), and His Holiness alighted from off his mule, and gave her to Abbot Forman, with great gifts of gold, and had him to Rome with him, and made him his legate in Scotland. The Abbot of Dryburgh made the Pope a great banquet in one of his palaces, and invited the Pope and all the cardinals thereto. When the dinner was served, and His Holiness and Conclave of Cardinals were duly placed, and seated according to their estate, it was then the custom that he who aught (owned) the house and gave the banquet should say grace and bless the meat; so they requested the holy abbot to say grace, who, not being a good scholar, and had not good Latin, but began in the Scots' fashion of these days, in this manner,—'Benedicite,' believing they would answer 'Dominus;' but they answered 'Dans,' in the Italian fashion, which put the noble abbot past his intentment, that he wist not how to proceed, but gave the supposed blessing in good Scots, (which they understood not), 'To the Devil I give all false carles, in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.' 'In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Amen,' said they. Then the abbot and his suite of Scottish monks laughed, and when the Pope and the cardinals got in their cups,

'Fall of the juice of Tuscan grape.'

the abbot told them what he had said, saying, at the same time, he was not a good clerk, and that their eminences had put him past his intentment; and therefore he had given them all to the Devil in broad Scots, which made the Pope laugh heartily at the cardinals' expense." The King of France (Louis XII.), as a reward for his service, made him Archbishop of Bourges, a valuable presentation, which had a revenue of four hundred tuns of wine and ten thousand gold francs, with other perquisites. He had scarcely done homage for his appointment when he heard of the death of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, in Scotland, and he hurried off to Rome to solicit the succession, but found that Leo X. (Pope Julius having died in the interval) had, "out of affection for Scotland," given it, *in commendam*, to his nephew, Cardinal Cibo. However, as he had learned that the Scots would not accept a foreigner for the highest ecclesiastical office in the kingdom, he would, "out of his great love for the country," cancel the nomination, and he appointed Forman in his stead, with all the benefices held *in commendam* by the late Archbishop, and the abbacies of Dunfermline and Aberbrothar. After much opposition from rival candidates, one of whom was Gavin Douglas, the translator of Virgil's *Æneid*, he was enthroned in 1514, when he resigned the Archbishopric of Bourges and other preferments. He appears to have entertained a bitter animosity towards England, and was constantly engaged in some intrigue for the detriment of that kingdom, in which he was seconded by Lord Bernard Stuart. He represented to King James, that on an examination of the will of Henry VII. he found that the jewels of Prince Arthur were bequeathed to Queen Margaret, his sister; and he was sent to England to claim them; but King Henry, having been informed beforehand of the intended demand, and seeing that it was a concerted scheme to stir up strife between him and his brother-in-law, received Forman most graciously, and promised to deliver up the jewels to any one whom King James should appoint as his agent to receive them. In 1513 England was at war with France, and Forman, thinking it a favourable opportunity for a Scottish invasion of England, went over to France to intrigue with the object of concerted action in the scheme, and found King Francis, and more especially his queen, eager to conclude the alliance, imagining that King Henry must withdraw his army from France to defend his kingdom at home. Forman represented that Henry only waited his opportunity for the entire subjugation of Scotland, which would be easy if he should prove successful in France, when he would become more than ever formidable in wealth and power, and a continual menace to France. His intrigues bore their fruit, but of a very different nature from what he hoped and anticipated, proving ruinous, not to England, but to his own country; the result being the fatal battle of Flodden, in which the king and the chief of his nobility lost their lives. Nor did the fatality end here, for the Queen of France, conscience-stricken at having taken so active a part in the matter, and feeling in a great degree responsible for the death of King James, died a few days after receiving news of the battle. In 1515 he resigned the commendatorship of Dryburgh in favour of his nephew, Robert Forman, who was appointed, but waived the nomination (it is supposed simoniacally) in favour of James Ogilvie. He was the reputed author of three works:—"Contra Lutherium," "De Stoica Philosophica," and "Collectanea Decretalium," and died in Dunfermline Abbey in 1522.

JAMES OGILVIE, son of Sir James Ogilvie, of County Banff, succeeded in 1516. He was Rector of Kynkell, and

a Canon of Aberdeen; also the first Professor of Civil Law in King's College, Aberdeen, and a candidate for the bishopric of the same city in 1515, but was unsuccessful, and was given the commendatorship of Dryburgh instead. In 1512 he conducted from France two vessels laden with munitions of war, a present from the French Queen to King James; and in 1514 was sent by the Council of Scotland, with Lord Fleming, to France, to request the Duke of Albany to assume the Regency.

DAVID HAMILTON, Bishop of Argyle, a natural son of James Lord Hamilton, father of the Earl of Arran, succeeded upon Ogilvie's death in 1522. He held the abbey of Dryburgh and Glenluce, *in commendam* with his bishopric, and died the following year.

JAMES STEWART, a canon of Glasgow Cathedral, was appointed his successor in 1523, by the Duke of Albany, who wrote a letter to Cardinal Accolti, the Cardinal Protector of Scotland at Rome, to the following effect:—"The Abbey of Dryburgh, now vacant by the death of the late Commendator, David, Bishop of Argyle, being situated on the borders of the kingdom, its buildings and the produce of its lands were miserably wasted and destroyed by the English, who making continual inroads, spared neither churches, monasteries, nor any other sacred place, nor people of any age or sex; wherefore the monks needed such a superior as would give his whole attention to the affairs of the said abbey, repair its buildings, and restore the worship of God therein." For these reasons, he adds, he has nominated James Stewart to rule the abbey, whom he recommends to the Pope, and entreats him to confirm the appointment, the said James Stewart assuming the habit of the Premonstratensian order, and there being reserved a pension of one hundred pounds Scots to Andrew Hume, out of the revenues, and in conclusion solicits the Cardinal to use his influence in behalf of the same. The commendator had a feud with the Haliburton family, respecting their right to some of the abbey lands which they held. After years of litigation it was settled in 1535, by the arbitration of the king, who decided that "the Haliburtons should retain the lands and be good servants to the abbot, as they and their predecessors had been to him and his predecessors, and he shall be a good master to them." The embers of the feud, however, continued to smoulder until Walter, eldest son of David Haliburton, married Elizabeth, or Agnes, daughter of the commendator. They had issue an only daughter, Elizabeth, whom the Haliburtons wished to betroth to her cousin, so as to keep the lands in the family, but her grandfather, the commendator, carried her off by force and affianced her to Sir Alexander Erskine, brother to the Laird of Balguy, and from them descended the Erskines of Shielfield. This caused the feud to blaze up afresh, and it only ended at the dissolution.

THOMAS ERSKINE succeeded in 1541, from which time the commendatorship was held almost uninterruptedly by members of that family until 1604, when the abbey and its domains were granted in perpetuity to the Earl of Mar, the head of the family, as part of the secular Lordship of Cairdross. He held the office until 1548, at which date he probably died. During his term of office (in 1544) the abbey buildings were once more destroyed by the English. Among the Cotton MSS. there is a narrative of this disastrous event, written by Lord Eure, which runs thus:—"Upon Friday, the vii day of November, at iiij of the cloke at afternoon, Sir George Bowes and his company, Sir Brian Layton and his company, Henry Ewry, Liell Gray, Porter, and the garrison of Barwicke, John Carre, Captain of Wark, and his company, Thomas Beamond, George Sowly, Launcelot Carleton, and their companies, to the number of vii hundreth men, rode in Scotland upon the water of Tweide, to a town called Drybrough, with an Abbay in the same, which was a pratty town, and well buylded; and they burnte the same town and Abbay, sayng the Church, with a great substance of corne, and gote very moch spoylage and insight geire; and brought away an hundreth nolte, lx nagges, a hundreth sheipe; and they gave to certaine Scotchmen of Tyvidale, laillie comen in and laid their pledges to serve the Kynge's Majestie, who met them at Kelso, in their home comyng, xxxti or lxti nolte, and they tarried so longe at the saide burnyng and spoliage, that it was Satterday at viii of the cloke at nycht or they came home." In retaliation, the commendator, as feudal chief of the Dryburgh domain, along with other Border chiefs, crossed the Tweed in 1545 into Northumberland, burned the village of Horncliffe, and the surrounding stacks of corn, and attempted other places, but the people rose *en masse*, assisted by the garrison troops of Norham and Berwick, and drove them back with considerable loss.

JOHN ERSKINE, or STEWART, succeeded in 1548, and held the office until 1552. It is not known whether he was an Erskine or a Stewart, as his surname is not appended to any of the charters granted by him. It is most probable that he was an Erskine, as the Earl of Buchan, in 1791, refers to him as "my noble and truly excellent ancestor, John Erskine, afterwards Earl of Mar and Regent of the Scots, who was commendator during the lifetime of his elder brothers, Robert and Thomas, who predeceased their father, the former being slain at Pinkie in 1547, and the latter dying in 1551, in consequence of which he succeeded to the Earldom of Mar on the death of his father in 1552, when he resigned the commendatorship in favour of his nephew David." On the other hand, it is asserted that he was brother to Matthew Stewart, fourth Earl of Lennox, and uncle to Lord Darnley who married Mary Queen of Scots; or, according to another account, was cousin to Lord Darnley, and that the armorial bearings over the entrance to the cloisters, "for the canons who had overstayed their time," are his.

DAVID ERSKINE, a natural son of Robert Erskine, who was slain at Pinkie, succeeded. He was commendator of Inchmahomo, and Archdeacon of Brechin, and is described as "ane exceeding modest, honest, and shamefast man." His name appears in the list of the nobility and gentry who associated themselves together to support the government of the Earl of Moray, the Regent; and in 1570, he and his brother Adam, Abbot of Cambuskenneth, were appointed preceptors, under George Buchanan, of the young king, James VI., afterwards James I. of England. He was a notable man, and took an active part in the stirring events of the period. The full tide of the Reformation under Knox was flowing in upon Scotland, and he adhered to the Earl of Moray (the Regent) and the Reformers. In 1582, along with the Erskines generally, he was implicated in the "Raid of Ruthven," and fled to England; was found guilty of treason by the Parliament of 1584, and his estates and commendatorship confiscated. In connection with this affair, during their absence, David Home, a dependant of the family, was indicted for "the

treasonabull haising intelligence fra John, sumtyme Earl of Mar, and David, sumtyme Commendator of Dryburgh, our Soverain Lord's traitors, etc.," and received sentence that "the sayde David Home suld be tane to ane gippet at the croce of Edinburgh, and thair hangit, quarterit, and draun as ane traitor."

One WILLIAM appears to have been appointed to the commendatorship, but in 1585 the Earl of Mar returned from England, succeeded in depriving the Earl of Arran of his influence over the young king, and in obtaining a reversal of the attainder against himself and friends, when David resumed his commendatorship, and seems to have had it all to himself, as in 1600, in granting a lease, he stated as a reason why he signed it with his own name alone, and not as granted by the abbot and convent, as usual, that "all the Convent thair being now decessit."

In 1587 the lands and revenues were annexed to the crown, although David appears to have held possession of them until the beginning of the seventeenth century.



ST. CATHERINE'S WINDOW.

Previously to the Reformation it had become usual for the abbots and convents to grant, for a consideration, feu rights of portions of the abbey lands. Two such rights had been granted by abbots of Dryburgh,—one to the Haliburtons and the other to the Erskines, of whom it will be necessary to speak, as they were intimately connected with the abbey in its latter days.

The Haliburtons of Newmains were an ancient Berwickshire family, who feued a portion of the Dryburgh lands in 1560, upon which George Haliburton built a mansion, afterwards called Dryburgh Abbey, which was modernized in 1682 by Thomas Haliburton, and considerably enlarged by the Earl of Buchan in 1786, after it had passed to his family. In 1728 it was held by Robert Haliburton, "a weak, silly man, who engaged in trade, for which he had neither stock nor talents, and he became bankrupt." He died childless, but his brother Thomas had a daughter, Barbara, heiress to her father and uncle, who married, in 1728, Robert Scott, of Sandy Knowe, and had issue, with other children, Walter, the eldest, who adopted the profession of Writer to the Signet, and was father of Sir Walter, the Minstrel of the Border, and the author of *Waverley*. Sir Walter observed, "The ancient patrimony (Dryburgh) was sold for a trifle (about £3,000), and my father, who might have purchased

it with ease, was dissuaded by my grandfather, who at the time believed a more advantageous purchase might have been made of some lands which Raeburn thought of selling. And thus we have nothing left of Dryburgh, although my father's maternal inheritance, but the right of stretching our bones, where mine may perhaps be laid ere any eye but my own glances over these pages." The land and ruins were purchased by Colonel Todd, who sold them in 1786 to David Stewart Erskine, eleventh Earl of Buchan.

The Erskines are descended from Henricus de Erskine, of the Barony of Erskine on the Clyde, who was living in 1226, from whom descended Sir Thomas, who married Janet Keith, grand-daughter, maternally, of Lady Elyne Mar, daughter of Gratney, eleventh, and sister and eventually heiress of Donald, twelfth Earl of Mar. He died in 1419, leaving issue Robert, who established his claim as seventeenth Earl of Mar. John, the twenty-second earl,



FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

was entrusted with the care of the infant James, afterwards James VI., by Queen Mary, and was for some time Regent of the Kingdom. John, his son, who died in 1634, succeeded, and had issue John, twenty-fourth earl; James, *jure uxoris* Earl of Buchan; Henry, Baron Cardross, whose son David was ancestor of the extant Earls of Buchan; Sir Alexander, killed by an explosion at Douglas; and Sir Charles, ancestor of the Earls of Rosslyn. It was he who was attainted (*supra*) for participation in the Raid of Ruthven, and fled with David Erskine, the commendator, to England, but afterwards obtained a reversal of the attainder, and had a grant of the Lordship of Dryburgh.

Mary Stewart, daughter and heiress of James, fifth Earl of Buchan, married James, son of John Erskine, seventh Earl of Mar, who became, *j.u.*, Earl of Buchan. On the death of their grandson, William, eighth earl, *cæl.* 1695, the title devolved on his cousin, David Erskine, fourth Baron Cardross, whose grandson, David Stewart Erskine, eleventh Earl, was the purchaser of the Haliburton feu of Dryburgh. David Erskine, the commendator, was a natural son of Robert, Lord Erskine, *de jure*, twentieth Earl of Mar, whose grandfather, the eighteenth, had been dispossessed by an assize of error.

The land on the north of the abbey was feued to Alexander Erskine, who married the grand-daughter of James Stewart, the commendator, who probably conveyed it to him. In 1559 he built a mansion, originally called the Mantle House, where he and his descendants, the Shielfield Erskines, resided for two hundred and thirty-four years, till 1793, when it was sold to Mr. Riddell, who rebuilt the house.

The dissolution was now complete. In 1561 the revenues of the abbey were:—"Money £912 3s. 4d.; wheat, eight chalders; bear (barley), twenty-one chalders, eight bolls; meal, twenty-five chalders, twelve bolls; oats, four chalders." In 1567, by order of the crown, one third of the revenue was appropriated to the maintenance of Reformed Ministers; the crown also claimed another third, which in 1587 amounted to £266 13s. 4d. In 1606, James VI. converted the domain of Dryburgh into a temporal Lordship and Barony of Cardross, which he bestowed, along with the Abbey of Cambuskenneth and the Priory of Inchmahome, upon John Erskine, twenty-second Earl of Mar, to enable him the better to provide for his younger sons, "the samyn monasteries and superstitions being abolisht." It was granted with a reservation of certain rents and profits for the commendator, David Erskine, who continued to grant leases, one of which is dated 1608, signed by himself alone, all the convent "being decessit eight years ago," and is signed fifty years after the grant of his first lease. This was one of his last acts, as very soon after "he demitted that Henry, son of the Earl of Mar, might be put in." He died in 1611.

In the grant the Earl had authority to assign the Barony of Cardross to whomsoever he pleased, and he transferred it to Henry, his third son, the second by his second wife, to whom the king granted a provision constituting him "indubitatum et irrevocabilem Abbatem et Commendatorium Abbacie nostre de Dryburgh," to continue during his life with a seat and vote in Parliament. He died *v.p.* 1628, leaving a son, David, who succeeded to the barony on the death of his grandfather in 1634. He was granted a charter of confirmation in 1637, and died in 1671, when he was succeeded by his eldest son, Henry, who sold a portion of the lands called the Abbace of Dryburgh in 1682, to Sir Patric Scott, of Ancrum, who in 1700 resold it, including the abbey ruins, to Robert Haliburton, of Newmains, collateral ancestor of Sir Walter Scott. This Henry suffered severely, in a pecuniary point of view, for his faith, emigrated to America, and established a colony in Carolina, which was destroyed by the Spaniards, upon which he returned to Europe, became a volunteer in the Low Countries against the Spaniards, came to England with William Prince of Orange, and died in 1693. David, his son, succeeded as fourth Baron Cardross, and in 1697 was constituted by Act of Parliament Earl of Buchan.

The Ruins of Dryburgh.

The abbey ruins and their surroundings are eminently picturesque. Standing on an elevated position north of the Tweed, the Eildon range may be seen to the west, and meandering down a valley between two hills the river, which, when it reaches the open plain, makes a grand semicircular sweep, and then proceeds eastward to Berwick. The ground enclosed by the curvature has almost the appearance of an island, and is richly foliated with plantations and groupings of trees, from the midst of which rise the red-tinted ruins, mantled with ivy, and with trees of great age growing out of the arches and walls, the most prominent features being the gables of the chapter house, and the tolerably perfect walls of St. Modon's chapel, the chapter house, and the southern wall of the choir of the church. Lockhart, in his *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, in speaking of Sandy Knowe, the home of Scott's grandfather, and where Sir Walter spent the earliest years of his life, gives a bird's-eye view of the locality. He says:—"On the summit of the crags which overhang the farmhouse stands the ruined tower of Smailholme, the scene of that fine ballad,"—*The Eve of St. John*,—"and

the view from thence takes in a wide expanse of the district in which, as has been truly said, every field has its battle and every rivulet its song.

The lady looked in mournful mood,
Looked over hill and dale,
O'er Mertoun's wood and Tweed's fair flood,
And all down Teviotdale.

Mertoun, the principal seat of the Harden family, with its noble groves; nearly in front of it, across the Tweed, Lessuden, the comparatively small but still venerable and stately abode of the Lairds of Raeburn; and the hoary Abbey of Dryburgh, surrounded with yew trees as ancient as itself, seem to lie almost below the feet of the spectator. Opposite him rise the purple peaks of Eildon, the traditional scene of Thomas the Rhymer's interview with the Queen of Faerie; behind are the blasted peel which the Seer of Ercildoune himself inhabited, the Broom of the Cowdenknowes, the pastoral valley of the Leader, and the bleak wilderness of Lammermoor. To the eastward the desolate grandeur of Hume Castle breaks the horizon as the eye travels towards the range of the Cheviot. A few miles westward, Melrose, 'like some tall rock with lichens grey,' appears clasped amidst the windings of the Tweed; and the distance presents the serrated mountains of the Gala, the Ettrick, and the Yarrow, all famous in song." Such is the country—picturesque in aspect, and rich in associations of historic events and of ballad romance—in the midst of which Dryburgh stands, and has stood in some form or other for some fourteen or fifteen centuries.

Crossing the Tweed, let us examine more nearly the sadly mutilated remains of the abbey,

"And ruminat, in sultry hour,
In Dryburgh's chaste and classic bower;
There, mid the holy ruined pile,
Ripe apples blush, and flowerets smile,
An emblem meet of Him whose sway
Gladly the neighbouring lands obey."

The general prevailing style of the buildings is Normanesque, De Morville, the founder, having been of Norman descent; but in consequence of the many burnings, and subsequent rebuildings and repairs, portions of later styles are visible. Indeed there may be five or six distinct styles: the Norman in the main features, with fragments of the deeply splayed earlier Saxon, and even the massive square-sided Roman, relics of the earlier buildings, with more recent additions of different phases of the pointed Gothic. The chapter house, the abbot's parlour, and the contiguous monks' quarter give evidence of greater antiquity than does the church.

The remains, which are few and fragmentary, are chiefly those of the convent buildings, with scarcely any of the church, which is supposed never to have been entirely rebuilt after the great fire of 1322. Pennant, writing in 1790, says,—“There are scarce any reliques of the church, but much of the convent, the refectory supported by two pillars, several vaults and other offices; part of the cloister walls, and a fine radiated window of stone work. The remains are not inelegant, but unadorned.” The stone of the buildings is a hard sandstone of a reddish grey tint, so hard that the mouldings and chisellings retain all their pristine sharpness of outline. The various buildings are on different levels; the church being on the highest, is entered from the cloisters by a flight of ten steps, whilst two others lead downward from the quadrangle, one into the chapter house, and another, of ten steps, into the grounds. The ruins, excepting some foundations and slight remains of walls, as they now exist, consist of the northern and eastern walls of the north transept, the eastern wall of the south transept, the north wall of the choir, and the western and southern walls of the nave of the church, the western wall of the cloisters with the dungeons below complete, and part of the southern

wall with the cellars below. The chapter house, the abbot's parlour, and St. Modon's chapel almost entire, and the northern and eastern walls of the library. The roof of the abbot's parlour fell in so recently as the middle of the present century. All the monastic buildings seem to have been on the south side of the church.

The church consisted of a nave with side aisles, one hundred and ninety feet long by seventy-five feet in width, a north and south transept, the former with an eastern aisle called St. Mary's aisle, in which are three sepulchral chapels, those of the Haighs of Bemerside to the north, the Erskines of Shielfield to the south, and the Haliburtons to the east of the

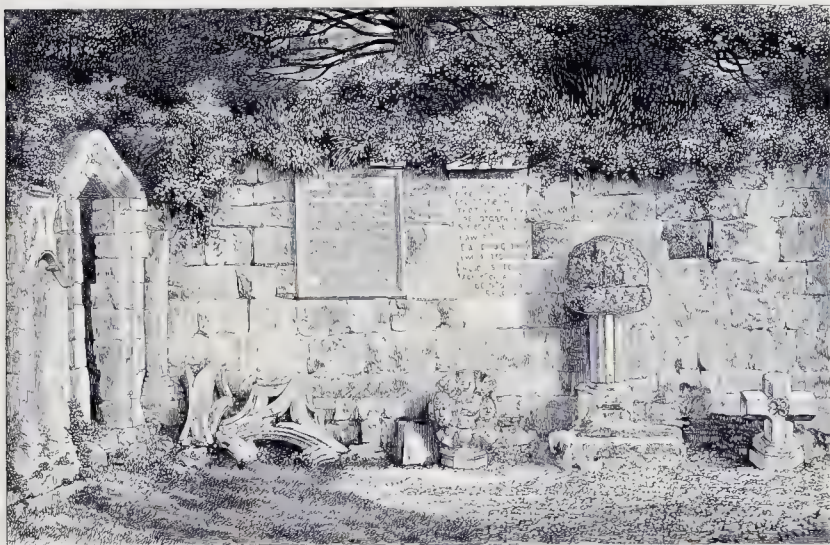


WEST ENTRANCE.

latter and north of the choir, in the latter of which was buried Sir Walter Scott; and eastward of the transepts was a short and rather narrow choir. At the intersection are the foundations of four large pillars which supported the tower. The choir and transepts are of the Early English style, but the western doorway of the nave is a pure Norman arch, with characteristic ornamentation. St. Modon's chapel lies south of the transepts, and is almost perfect, with walls, arched roof, a window with some fragments of stained glass, and the altar on an elevation of two steps carried entirely across the eastern end, with the holy water font and receiver beneath on the right side. It is twenty-five feet long, twelve broad, and fifteen high. At the western end is an entrance from the cloisters, and beneath is the burial-place of the Earls of Buchan.

The cloisters, a quadrangle one hundred feet square, lay south of the church nave, above which was probably the dormitory. There was a doorway in each corner. On the south-east

the grand entrance, with a flight of ten steps; on the south-west the present entrance; on the north-east a doorway into the church, and on the north-west the entrance to the dungeons. The quadrangle is now a blooming flower-garden, and in the centre stands a statue of Inigo Jones, with the inscription, "Inigo Jones, obiit Julii, 1652, æt. 80, vitruvii Britannico." The dungeons are three in number, the innermost thirty-two feet by twelve, and nine feet high, places of punishment for the refractory canons, and of imprisonment for captured moss-troopers. In one of them was a hand-trap, a hole cut in a stone, in which the hands of delinquents were placed, and secured by wedges driven in. It was so situated that the prisoner could neither stand up nor lie down, only remain in a kneeling posture, and this anguish he had to endure sometimes for three or four days; if he cried out in his agony a brother was sent



THE HIGH ALTAR.

down with a stout cudgel to thrash him into silence. This dungeon was only lighted by a slit in the wall, with an aperture two inches wide.

The refectory, one hundred feet by thirty, and about sixty feet in height, stood to the south of the cloisters, and below were the beer and wine cellars, two of which are perfect. There was also a staircase leading to the kitchen, and adjoining a lavatory for hand-washing at meal-times, which was sculptured round with the figure of a monster having a serpent's body, a pig's head, and wings, which was repeated eight times, twice on each side.

The chapter house, forty-seven feet by twenty-three, stands eastward of the cloisters, and southward of St. Modon's chapel, with a passage between, leading from the cloisters towards the old village of Dryburgh, now walled up at one end, and converted into a seed-house. There was a room above, possibly the repository of the charters, relics, and other valuables. The walls are entire, including the two sharp-pointed gables, in the eastern of which is an Early English window of five lancet lights, and in the western a beautiful circular radiated window, the centre symbolical of the Saviour, and the twelve rays representing His disciples. The roof of the chapter house remains, but that of the upper room has fallen, and has been recently replaced with slating to preserve the former. Beneath in the centre lie the remains

of the founder, Hugh de Morville, and Beatrix his wife, the spot being marked on the floor above with a double circle. From the upper rooms were two flights of stairs, of about thirty steps each, leading to the bell-lofts.

The abbot's parlour, fifty-four feet by twenty-four, and about eighteen feet high, stands south of and adjoining the chapter house. There are three windows, one Roman-headed, the other two pointed, of which the astragals only are left. There are also three round-headed doorways, a confessional almost entire, as is also the fireplace and a staircase which led to the dormitories. The roof fell in about the year 1780.

The library, forty-two feet by twenty-four, and supposed to have been about eighteen feet high, lay still further south, with an intervening passage. Very little of it remains excepting the eastern wall, with two Saxon windows, ornamented on the outside with indented work, and the northern wall, with the entrance from the passage, of a style similar to the windows. Along the centre was a range of three or four columns.

The buttery, twenty-four feet by fourteen, was above the arched passage north of the chapter house, and is the only room of which the floor is entire. It has a window at the eastern end, where the wall still remains.

The churchyard was on the north of the church, and there appears to have been another cemetery on the east.

The porter's lodge and gateway are partially ruined, portions of the four walls still remaining. There was formerly a fine avenue from it of ash and elm trees, of which twenty-one still remain, at one end of which the Earl of Buchan has placed an obelisk to indicate the entrance to the abbot's house, with the inscription "Genio Majorum."

In the cemetery there is still standing a yew tree twelve feet in circumference six feet from the ground, which was planted by William de Malvoisin, Bishop of St. Andrews, when he dedicated the new cloisters in 1208. Amongst the relics that have been disinterred in modern times are a sarcophagus made of one stone, six feet three inches long and two feet six inches broad, shoulder measure, and weighing a ton; a stone coffin, containing a skull, two shin bones, and a rib, all the rest having mouldered to dust, which lay at the bottom; one of the abbey-gate keys, with a spike instead of a pipe; and an iron fetter from one of the dungeons.

Sir Walter Scott, in his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, tells of a romance connected with the abbey ruins in the last century. It appears that shortly after the rebellion of 1745, an unknown lady came and took up her abode in one of the underground vaults. There she remained during the day, and at nightfall went to the house of the Erskines at Shielfield, or of the Haliburtons at Newmains, where she was supplied with food and other necessities of life; and at midnight lit her lantern and returned to her vault, not being seen again until the following evening. She said that during her absence, a goblin, whom she called Fatlips, put her room in order, and that he wore iron shoes, with which he trampled the clay floor to keep the damp down. By the educated she was considered to be insane, and by the ignorant she was looked upon with fear, as being "not canny." She would never explain the reason why she adopted this mode of life, but it was believed that she had a lover who had gone out with Prince Charlie, and that she had made a vow never to look upon the sun again until he returned. The vault which she occupied goes still by the name of "the goblin vault," and few there are in the country side who would dare to enter it alone or by night.

If Dryburgh had no other claim to veneration and respect, it acquired one in the present century in becoming the chosen burial-place of Sir Walter Scott, who has invested the Border Lands, in the midst of which the abbey lies, with the charm of romance, and attracted numberless crowds of pilgrims thither every summer, to visit the spots he has made for ever memorable by the magic witchery of his pen. He was essentially a Border man, although

born in Edinburgh. He says, "My father's grandfather was Walter Scott, well known in Teviotdale by the surname of Beardie. He was the second son of Walter Scott, of Raeburn, who was third son of Sir William Scott and the grandson of Walter Scott, commonly called in tradition 'Auld Watt of Harden.' I am therefore lineally descended from that ancient chieftain whose name I have made to ring in many a ditty, and from his fair dame—the Flower of Yarrow—no bad genealogy for a Border minstrel." Sir Walter's grandfather, Robert Scott, lived upon a farm at Sandy Knowe, which included within its limits the tower of Smailholme, immortalized in "The Eve of St. John;" and here the young Walter spent his childhood, listening with rapt eagerness to the legends, narratives, and songs of the Borders, materials which he afterwards wrought up into many a world-famous poem or romance. It was here, in the Border Land too, that he built Abbotsford, his "romance in stone," and spent some of his happiest hours, writing his poems and novels, and wandering about the mountains, rocks, river sides, and abbey and castle ruins, in the midst of which it lay. And here, after a clouded evening of life, he died in 1832, with the pleasant murmur of the Tweed in his ears, and was laid to rest amid the ruins of the abbey in which when living he had loved to wander and conjure up imaginings of its past history. Abbotsford lay on the opposite or southern bank of the river, near the confluence of the Gala, and about three miles from the Abbey of Melrose. Here, in the sepulchral chapel of his kinsfolk, the Haliburtons, he laid the partner of his joys and sorrows, Lady Scott, in 1826, and wrote thus of the funeral in his diary:—"The whole scene floats as a sort of dream before me; the beautiful day, the grey ruins covered and hidden among clouds of foliage and flourish, where the grave, even in the lap of beauty, lay lurking and gaped for its prey. Then the grave looks, the hasty important bustle of men with spades and mattocks, the train of carriages, the coffin containing the creature that was so long the dearest on earth to me, and whom I was to consign to the very spot which in pleasure parties we so frequently visited. It seems still as if this could not be really so."

This was precisely the period when the great publishing houses, with which he had injudiciously connected himself, fell with a sudden crash, and he found himself insolvent, with liabilities to the amount of £150,000. Although heart-broken at his financial ruin, and his domestic bereavement, he immediately set to work to repair the former, and by means of new works, and the republication of his novels, with annotations, he realized nearly £40,000 for the creditors, but killed himself by his almost superhuman efforts, being stricken by paralysis in 1830, and two years after was laid by the side of his wife in ruined Dryburgh. Lockhart, his son-in-law and biographer, describes the scene at his funeral. He says, "The court-yard and all the precincts of Abbotsford were crowded with uncovered spectators, as the procession was arranged; and as it advanced through Darnick and Melrose and the adjacent villages, the whole population appeared at their doors in like manner, almost all in black. The train of carriages extended, I understand, over more than a mile; the yeomanry followed in great numbers on horseback; and it was late in the day ere we reached Dryburgh. Some accident, it was observed, had caused the hearse to halt for several minutes on the summit of the hill at Bemerside, exactly where a prospect of remarkable richness opens, and where Sir Walter had always been accustomed to rein up his horse. The day was dark and lowering, and the wind high. The wide enclosure at the Abbey of Dryburgh was thronged with old and young; and when the coffin was taken from the hearse, and again laid on the shoulders of the afflicted serving-men, one deep sob burst from a thousand lips. Mr. Archdeacon Williams read the Burial Service of the Church of England; and thus about half-past 5 o'clock in the evening of Wednesday, the 26th. of September, 1832, the remains of Sir Walter Scott were laid by the side of his wife in the sepulchre of his ancestors."

Sic transit gloria mundi may be written on the mouldering ruins of Dryburgh. For many centuries its vaulted roofs echoed with anthems of praise, and kings and nobles knelt at its

altar in devout humility; and within its walls have been entombed the remains of men who in their day and generation were esteemed as great and illustrious, and who still live in the annals of their country; but its glory has departed, and its memories are but as a dream of the past.

"The green tree o'er the altar bends,
The long grass sweeps the wall;
Deeply her sigh the midnight sends
Along the chancel hall.
Of sainted memories, calm and bright,
No legend needs to tell,
For story's pen must fail to write
What ruin paints so well."



SECOND PLAN OF FRYBURGH

A. West Entrance.
B. Nave.
C. Choir.
D. Sepulchral Chapel of the
Haltburtons.
E. Sepulchral Chapel of the Erskines

F. Sepulchral Chapel of the Haighs.
G. South Transept.
H. Earl of Buchan's Chapel.
I. Passage.
J. Chapter House.
K. Abbot's Parlour.

L. Passage.
M. Library.
N. Cloister Court.
O. Dungeons.
P. Cellars.





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